A
COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF JAINISM

[up to 1000 A D.]

BY

ASIM KUMAR CHATTERJEE,
M A. D PHIL (CAL)

Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Calcutta University

FIRMA KLM PRIVATE LIMITED
CALCUTTA ★ ★ ★ 1978

First Edition, 1978.

Price Rs. 75 00

Printed in India

By Kalidas Munshi at The Pooran Press, 21, Balaram Ghose Street, Calcutta 700 004, and Published by Firma KLM Private Ltd Calcutta 700 012

DEDICATED

To The Sad

Memory of my elder brother Dr. Amiya Kumar Chatterjee (1936-1974), M.R.C.P (Edin), a Cancer Specialist, who himself became a victim of that deadly disease

PREFACE

Jainism, which is definitely older than Buddhism, originated some 800 years before the birth of Christ. Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara, but in reality the founder of this religion, belonged to Vārānasī, India's most sacred city. It is exceedingly significant that the first genuine protest against the Brāhmanical religion came from a person who hailed from the strongest citadel of that religion. The religious system, established by Pārśva, gradually spread towards the east, and by the time, Lord Mahāvīra was born, became one of the dominating forces in the religious life of Eastern India. The *Ācārānga Sūtra*, which is one of the oldest Jain religious texts, informs us that even the parents of Mahāvīra, who lived near Vaiśālī in Northern Bihar, were followers of Pārśva.

Lord Mahāvīra, who was a somewhat junior contemporary of Buddha (as we have shown in this work), made Jainism one of the the most popular religious systems of Northern India. For thirty years after his enlightenment, he spared no pains to make the Nirgrantha religion an all-India religious system. If we have to believe in the evidence of the *Bhagavatī*, he personally preached even in Western India. His rival Buddha never went farther than the Kuru country. However, both these great Masters, it appears, spent the major part of their lives in modern Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, Magadha and Kosala being the *janapadas*, receiving their maximum attention.

After Mahāvīra his devoted followers made every effort to carry the message of Pārśva and Mahāvīra to millions of Indians living in different parts of this sub-continent. The immediate disciples of Mahāvīra were all Brahmins, but at a

later stage some non-Brahmin disciples gradually made the Nirgrantha religion a thoroughly anti-Brāhmanical religious system Even the great Bhadrabāhu, who was a native of Northern Bengal, was a Brahmin and the first genuine Jain philosopher viz Umāsvāti, also belonged to that caste. However from the 1st century B C, persons belonging to the business community started patronising this religion. The present author stroughly believes that it was this community, who were responsible for moulding it as an anti-Brāhmaṇical religious system.

In the present volume we have outlined the history of this religion from the earliest times to 1000 A.D In the next volume we will endeavour to cover the period between 1000 A D and 1500 A.D This volume will also contain chapters on Jain Iconography and Philosophy

Our work is mainly based on the original sources and the views expressed are entirely those of the Author This is the first systematic historical study of Jainism, and it is hoped that this work will be generously received by the academic world For the misprints, and other errors, the Author can only crave the indulgence of the readers

CALCUTTA
14. 3 1978

Asim Kumar Chatterjee
'Meghdoot'
24 E Jyotish Roy Road.
P. O New Alipore
Calcutta-53

By the same Author—

1. The Cult of Skanda-Kārttikeya in Ancient India, Calcutta, 1970.
2. Ravindranath, Calcutta, 1970
3. Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition, Calcutta, 1974.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.B	—	Aitareya Brāhmana
A.B.O.R.I.	—	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
A S I A.R	—	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
B I.	—	Bibliotheca Indica
C H I	—	Cambridge History of India
C I I	—	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
D H N.I.	—	Dynastic History of Northern India (by H. C Ray).
E.C	—	Epigraphia Carnatica
E I	—	Epigraphia Indica.
G O S	—	Gaekwad's Oriental Series
H.I.L.	—	History of Indian Literature (by M. Winternitz).
I A.	—	Indian Antiquary.
I C.	—	Indian Culture, Calcutta.
I H.Q	—	Indian Historical Quarterly
J A.	—	Journal Asiatique.
J.A.H.R.S.	—	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
J.A.O.S.	—	Journal of the American Oriental Society.

J.A S B	—	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal
J B B R.A.S	—	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J B.O R.S	—	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J.D.L	—	Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta.
J.I.H.	—	Journal of Indian History
J I S.O.A	—	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
J O I	—	Journal of the Oriental Institute.
J R A.S	—	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
J S B I	—	Jaina Sāhitya kā Brhad Itihāsa in 6 volumes
M A R	—	Mysore Archaeological Report
Mbh	—	Mahābhārata
M.D J.M.	—	Manikcandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā
N I A	—	New Indian Antiquary.
P H A I	—	Political History of Ancient India by H C Raychaudhuri.
P.I.H.C	—	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
P.H.N.I	—	Political History Northern India by G C Chowdhury
Q J.M S	—	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

RV.	—	Ṛgveda
Ś.B.	—	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
S.B E.	—	Sacred Books of the East
Sel. Ins.	—	Select Inscriptions etc by D.C Sircar
Z.D.M.G.	—	Zeitschrift Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

Tīrthankaras from Rṣabha to Ariṣṭanemi

(1) Rṣabhanātha

The canonical texts like the *Kalpasūtra*[1] and *Samavāvānga*[2] give us some idea about the life of the first Jain Tīrthankara He is regarded as the first Tīrthankara of the current *osappinī* and is uniformly described as belonging to Kosala (*Kosalie*) His father was Kulakara Nābhi of Vinītā (Ayodhyā) city and his mother was called Marudevī He belonged like Mahāvīra to the Kāsyapa lineage The canonical texts would have us believe that his height was 500 *dhanusas*[3] (bow-lengths) A few vague and indistinct details are given about him in the texts and it is extremely difficult to get a connected account of his life from the early Jain works The *Āvasvakaniryukti*,[4] a work written after the first century A D, gives us the information that Rsabha, in course of his wanderings, visited countries like Jonaga and Suvannabhūmi The same text[5] also mentions his two wives Sumangalā and Sunandā and his hundred sons including Bharata He lived for 2 million *pūrva* years as a prince and six million and 3 lakh *pūrva* years as a king During his reign, we are told, he taught for the benefit of his people, 72 *kalās*, 64 *mahilā-gunas*, one hundred arts and 3 occupations of man Rsabha, after anointing his 100 sons as kings of various kingdoms, renounced the world and attained omniscience outside the town of Purimatāla, which was near his home-town[6] According to the *Samavāvānga*[7], his first disciples were Rṣabhasena and Bambhī The same texts tells us the name of the tree associated with his viz *nyagrodha*[8] Rsabha had under him 84 groups of Ganas, 84 Ganaharas (group-leaders), 84,000 monks with Rṣabhasena at their head, 3 lakh nuns with Bambhī and Sundarī

as heads His chief lay disciples were Sejjamsa and Subhaddā[9] He total life-span, according to the texts, was 84 lakh years He died on the summit of Aṭṭhavāya which has tentatively been identified with Kailash[10] According to the 7th century text the *Āvasyakacūrṇī*, Rsabha's son constructed a shrine on this mountain

We have tried above to give readers some idea about Rsabha's life and activities as given in the early canonical texts In the well known Vaisnava work viz the *Bhāgavata Purāna*[11] a fairly detailed account about the first Jain path-finder has been given We should remember in this connexion that this work was known to the author of the *Nandīsūtra*[12] which was surely in existence before the Valabhī council (circa 525 A D) In that text this work is mentioned along with *Bhārata*, *Rāmāyana* Kautilya and Patañjali The *Bhāgavata* account also depicts Rsabha as the son of Nābhi and Marudevī (spelt *Merudevī*) But the most vital piece of information given in the *Bhāgavata* regarding Rsabna is that he was regarded as an incarnation (*avatāra*) of Visnu[13] Since this work was in existence before the compilation of the *Nandīsūtra*, its evidence has some real importance It shows that the first Jain Tīrthankara was accepted as an incarnation of Visnu by the Hindus in the early centuries of the Christian era, if not earlier, probably at the time when the founder of Buddhism was accepted as an *avatāra* of the same god

The life and activities of Rsabha as given in the *Bhāgavata*, tally in all major details, with that given in Jain texts According to this account also, Rsabha had 100 sons including Bharata It has nothing but praise for Rsabha's activities as an able monarch It also records the fact, that after his abdication, he went about naked with dishevelled hair (*gaganaparidhānah prakīrnakesah*, V 5 28) Just like Mahāvīra he too, had to suffer a lot in the hands of ignorant people (V 5 30) We are further told that he visited places like Konka, Venka, Kutaka and South Karnātaka (V 6 7) The *Bhāgavata* further refers to his followers in those countries (V 6 9 ff)

The *Bhāgavata*, however, has no word of praise for Rṣabha's followers who are emphatically called *pākhandas* (V 6 8) It

also, criticizes them for their 'habits' Most of Rsabha's followers, according to that text, used to indulge in disparaging the Veda, Brāhmana and *yajña* (*BrahmaBrāhmanayajñapurusaloka-vidūsakāh prāyena bhavisyanti*, (V 6 10) One thing that strikes a scrupulous and careful student of Jain history in this connexion is that, the author of the *Bhāgavata*, who has nothing but deference for Rsabha, is extremely critical about his followers i e the Jains There is nothing surprising in it The Jains, from the very early times, indulged freely in blind anti-Brāhmanism We would like to invite the attention of our readers to that oft-quoted passage of the *Kalpasūtra*[14], according to which no Tīrthankara Cakravartin or Baladeva (and Vāsudeva) can be born in a Brāhmana family This anti-Brāhmanical attitude is found uniformly in the canonical and non-canonical texts of both the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras[15]

The Vedic texts[16] know one king Rsabha, who is described as a performer of the Asvamedha sacrifices Another Rsabha appears in the *Aitareya Brāhmana* (7 17) as a son of Visvāmitra The *Mahābhārata* not only knows one ancient king Rsabha (VI 9 7) but also an ascetic of that name who is represented in one place[17] as asking king Sumitra of Haihaya dynasty to give up desire or false hope which in fact, is one of the fundamental teachings of Jainism It is highly interesting to note that a certain Rsabha-tīrtha is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III 85 10-11) as situated in the Ayodhyā region, the home-country of the first Tīrthankara This *tīrtha* is apparently mentioned in the Gunji Rock inscription of Kumāravīradatta which has been assigned to the 1st century A D [18]

Although neither the two epics, nor the Vedic texts, connect Rsabha with a heretical religion, there is little doubt that a king or ascetic called Rsabha was known from very early times He was, in all probability, a historical personage and the Jains a century or two after the demise of Mahāvīra conceived the idea of making this ancient Rsi their earliest path-finder There is little doubt that the account of Rsabha as given in the *Bhāgavata* was composed only after Jainism came to be regarded as one of the principal religions of India The present writer is of

the opinion that the *Bhāgavata* account of Ṛṣabha was composed after 100 B C, but probably before the Kuṣāna period

It is somewhat interesting to note that even a few mediaeval Jain commentarors were acquinted with the Hindu Purānic references to Rṣabha Śāntisūri in his *Uttarādhyayana-vṛtti*[19] tells us that according to the *Brahmānda Purāna* Rṣabha belonged to the Ikṣvāku lineage and he was the son of Nābhi and Marudevī

Inscriptions of Mathurā definitely prove that Rṣabha was regularly worshipped as a Tīrthankara in the Mathurā region from the 1st century A D We have already observed he was made a Tīrthankara probably a century or two after Mahavīra's demise Since the *Kalpasūtra*, which was not improbably composed before 100 B C, refers to him and describes his life, we will not be far wrong if we assume that he was inducted into the Nirgrantha religion around 300 B C

In the *Rāmāyana* (VII 111 10) there is a reference to one king Rṣabha of Ayodhyā in whose reign the city once more rose to eminence It is tempting to identify this Rṣabha with the the first Jain Tīrthankara since both are connected with Ayodhyā But in the absence of more positive evidence we cannot afford to be dogmatic on this point

(2) Ajitanātha Like the first Tīrthankara the second also according to the Jains, was a Kosalan Ajita (Ajiya) was the son of Jitaśatru of Ayodhyā His mother's name was Vijayā His height was 50 *dhanusas* less then that of Rṣabha i e 450 *dhanusas* He lived for 72 lakh years and the sacred tree associated with him was *saptaparna* He died on the summit of Pareshnath hill (Sammeya) Sīhasena and Phaggu were his first disciples[20] There is nothing to indicate that he was a historical figure

(3) Sambhavanātha The third Tīrthankara Sambhava (Sambhava) like the first two, was a Kosalan He was the son of king Jitāri and Senā of Śrāvastī Since he is the third Tīrthankara, he should be of lesser height and we are told that he was only 400 *dhanusas* in height ! His life-span was also not much, only 60 lakh years ! His sacred tree was *sāla* Like the second, he too, attained liberation on the summit of Sammeya

hill[21] His prominent disciples were Cāru and Sāmā He is mentioned in a Mathurā inscription of Huviṣka[22] dated in the Kaniṣka year 48 corresponding to 126 A D

(4) Abhinandana The fourth Tīrthankara was also a Kosalan according to the Jains and was born at Vinītā His parents were Samvara and Siddhārthā His height, as expected, was 350 *dhanusas* and he lived 10 lakh years less than the third Tīrthankara Vajranābha and Ajitā were his chief disciples His sacred tree was *priyaka*[23]

(5) Sumati The fifth Tīrthankara was also born at Vinītā in the Kosala country His parents were king Megha and queen Mangalā His height was 300 *dhanusas* and life-span 40 lakh years His sacred tree was *priyangu* and his chief disciples Camara and Kāsavī He attained liberation on mount Sammeya[24]

Like Ṛṣabha, this Tīrthankara also finds a place in the *Bhāgavata Purāna* (V 15 1) This Purāna informs us that Sumati will be worshipped in the Kali age by irreligious and non-Aryan peoples as their god It further tells us that Sumati followed the path of Ṛṣabha There can be little doubt that the author of the *Bhāgavata* here has the fifth Jain Tīrthankara in mind, who however, according to him, was the grandson of Ṛṣabha

(6) Padmaprabha or Suprabha This Tīrthankara, unlike the first five, was not a Kosalan but was born in the adjoining Vatsa territory in the famous city of Kausāmbī His parents were king Dhara and queen Susīmā His sacred tree was *chatrābha* and his disciples were Suvrata and Rati He lived for 30 lakh years and had a height of 250 *dhanusas* Nirvāna on Sammeya[25]

(7) Supārsva The seventh Tīrthankara Supārsva was born at Vārānasī and his parents were king Pratiṣṭha and queen Pṛthvī Height-200 *dhanusas* life-span-20 lakh years Chief disciples—Vidarbha and Somā *Śirīṣa* was his sacred tree Death on the Sammeya mountain[26]

(8) Candraprabha The 8th Tīrthankara Candraprabha is also known as Śaśī and was born at Candrapura Scholars identify it with Candrāvatī, a modern village near Kāśī[27] This Tīrthankara had a height of 150 *dhanusas* and life span of one

million years He was the son of Mahāsena and Lakṣmaṇā of that town His sacred tree was *nāgavṛkṣa* and he died on the Sammeya mountain Dinna and Sumanā were his chief disciples [28]

(9) Puṣpadanta or Suvidhi The ninth Tīrthaṅkara was the son of Sugrīva and Rāmā of Kākandī It is identified with Kakan in the Monghyr district, Bihar [29] Here is his statistics-height—100 *dhanuṣas*, life-span-2 lakh years, sacred tree *māli* or *mallī*, disciples—Varāha and Vāruṇī, Nirvāṇa—Sammeya mountain [30]

(10) Śītalanātha He was the son of Dṛḍharatha and Nandā of Bhaddilapura This place has tentatively been identified with Bhadia, a village in the Hazaribag district, Bihar [31] His sacred tree was *pilaṅka* and chief disciples Ānanda and Sulasā He attained liberation on mount Sammeya at the age of one lakh years [32]

(11) Śreyāṁsa The 11th Tīrthaṅkara was the son of Viṣṇu and Viṣṇā of Siṁhapura (identified with Siṁhapurī near Benares) [33] His chief disciples were Gothubha and Dhāriṇī He reached liberation on mount Sammeya [34] He lived for 84 lakh years

(12) Vāsupūjya The 12th Tīrthaṅkara Vasupūjya was the son of Vasupūjya any Jayā of Campā He had a height of 70 *dhanuṣas* and his sacred tree was *pāṭala* He had a life-span of 72 lakh years, and unlike most of his predecessors, did not die on mount Sammeya According to the canonical texts, he breathed his last at Campā Suhamma and Dharaṇī were his chief disciples [35]

(13) Vimala He was the son of Kayavamma and Sāmā of Kampillapura He had a height of 60 *dhanuṣas* and a life-span of six million years His sacred tree was *jambu* and chief disciples Mandara and Dharaṇidharā He attained liberation on mount Sammeya [36]

(14) Ananta He was the son of Siṁhasena and Sujasā of Ayodhyā He had a height of 50 *dhanuṣas* and a life-span of 3 million years His sacred tree was *aśvattha* His first disciples were Yaśa and Padmā He also died on mount Sammeya [37]

(15) Dharmanātha This Tīrthankara was the son of Bhānu and Suvratā of Rayanapura He had a height of 45 *dhanusas* and his sacred three was *dadhiparna* Arista and Śivā were his chief disciples He had a life of 1 million years and his death took place on mount Sammeya[38]

(16) Śāntinātha This Tīrthankara was the son of Viśvasena and Avirā of Gajapura (=Hastināpura) His chief wife was Vijayā His sacred tree was *Nandī* and he had a height of 40 *dhanusas* He attained liberation on Sammeya mountain at the age of one lakh years His chief disciples were Cakkāha and Suī[39] He is mentioned in a Mathurā inscription[40]

(17) Kunthu He was the son of Śūra and Śrī of Hastināpura His height was 35 *dhanusas* and his sacred tree *tilaka* His disciples were Svayambhū and Amjuyā He attained liberation on mount Sammeya after living for 95,000 years[41]

(18) Aranātha He was the son of Sudarsana and Devī of Hastināpura His height was 30 *dhanusas* and his sacred tree was mango Kumbha and Rakkhiyā were his chief disciples He attained liberation on mount Sammeya at the age of 84,000 years[42] He is referred to in the well-known Mathurā inscription of the year 79 (=157 A D) which mentions the *devanirmita* Buddhist *Stūpa*[43]

(19) Malli This Tīrthankara, unlike all others, was a woman[44] She was the daughter of Kumbha and Prabhāvatī of Mithilā A detailed account of her life and activities is preserved in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[45] She was exceedingly beautiful and had a height of 25 *dhanusas* Kings of six leading cities of Northern India, we are told, demanded her hand for marriage When refused they all attacked Mithilā at the same time But before long, they were all converted by her and became good Jains Her sacred tree was *asoka* and she had a life-span of 45,000 years Indra and Bandhumatī were her chief disciples This woman Tīrthankara died on mount Sammeya[46]

(20) Suvrata He was the son of Sumitra and Padmāvatī of Rājagṛha His sacred tree was *campaka* and he had a life-span of 30,000 years His height was 20 *dhanusas* and Kumbha and Puṣpavatī were his chief disciples He died on mount Sammeya[47]

(21) Naminātha, Like Malli, this Tīrthankara also belonged to Mithilā We are told that he was the son of Vijaya and Vappā of that city He had a height of 15 *dhanusas* and a life-span of 10,000 years Śubha and Amalā were his chief disciples He died on mount Sammeya *bakula* was his sacred tree[48]

(22) Aristanemi (Neminātha)—The immediate predecessor of Pārsva was Tīrthankara Aristanemi, also known as Neminātha According to the Jains, he was an exact contemporary of the great Vāsudeva Krsna, he too we are told, belonged to the Yādava tribe His parents were Samudravijaya and Śivā or Sori-yapura He had a height of only 10 *dhanusas* and his sacred tree was *vetasa*

According to the sacred texts of the Jains, Aristanemi's marriage was settled with Rāimaī, a daughter of Uggasena While goint to marry, he saw a good number of animals kept in cages and enclosures On knowing that they were kept there for slaughter, in view of his impending marriage ceremony, he decided to renounce the world

The name 'Aristanemi' is known to the poet of the *Mahābhārata*,[49] but he cannot be identified with the Jain Tīrthankara In the Udyogaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* Krsna is once called by this name[50] The Vaiṣṇava works have no knowledge of an Aristanemi belonging to Hari—Vamsa Although he is referred to in a Mathurā inscription,[51] we cannot, in the absence of more positive evidence, call him as historical figure It is also interesting to note that both Krṣna and Neminātha are given life span of 1,000 years in the Jain canonical texts

Asistanemi's chief disciples were Varadatta and Yakkini and he died on the summit of mount Ujjanta (Girnar), one of the holiest *tīrthas* of the Jains[52] The Buddhist texts know a certain 'Aranemi,[53] but he cannot be identified with the 22nd Jain Tīrthankara

We have given above the Jain account of their first twenty-two Tīrthankaras With the possible exception of Rṣabha none of them has any claim to historicity Regarding Rsabha's historicity, we have already given our opinion But there is

little doubt that he was accepted as a Tīrthankara of the Jains, only after the demise of Mahāvīra

NOTES

1 205 ff
2 157
3 *Kalp* 210, *Sam* 108, *Sthā*, 435 etc
4 336-7
5 191, 383, 398
6 *Kalp*, 212
7 157
8 *Loc cit*
9 *Kalp* 213-7, *Sam* 84
10 N L Dey *Geographical Dictionary* etc, p 83
11 V chs 3 ff
12 42
13 V 3 18 and 20
14 See Jacobi s translation in *SBE*, Vol 22 p 225
15 See the present author s *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition* (Calcutta 1974), pp 101, 185-6
16 See *ŚB* 13 5 4 15, and *Śānkh Śrau Sū* 16 9 8 20
17 XII chs 125 ff, also XII 128 24
18 Sircar D C *Select Inscriptions* etc, p 223
19 P 525
20 See *Samavāyānga*, 71, 90, 157
21 *Ibid* 59 106 157
22 See Janert, K L (ed), *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp 451
23 See *Sam* 105, 157, *Sthā* 730
24 *Sam* 104, 157, *Sthā*, 664 *Kalp*, 200
25 *Sam*, 103 157 *Sthā*, 411
26 *Kalp*, 198 *Sam*, 95, 101, 157
27 See Jain J C *Life In Ancient India*, p 276
28 See *Kalp*, 197 *Sam* 93, 101 157, *Sthā* 520, 735
29 Jain, J C, *op cit* p 291
30 *Sam* 75, 86, 100, 157, *Sthā*, 411, *Kalp* 196
31 Jain, J C *op cit* p 272
32 *Sam*, 83, 157, *Kalp*, 196
33 Jain J C *op cit*, p 334
34 *Sam*, 66, 80, 157
35 *Sam*, 62, 157, *Kalp*, 193, *Sthā*, 520
36 *Sam* 56, 157, *Kalp*, 192, *Sthā* 411
37 *Sam*, 50 54, 157, *Sthā*, 411

38 *Sam* 45, 48, 157, *Kalp*, 190, *Sthā*, 735

39 *Sam*, 40, 75, 90, 93, 157, 158 *Kalp* 157, *Sthā*, 228

40 See *EI*, Vol I, no 43(3)

41 *Sam* 32 35 37, 81, 91, 95, 157 8, *Kalp*., 188, *Sthā* 411, 718

42 *Kalp*, 187 *Sam*, 157

43 *EI* Vol II No 14(20)

44 The Digambaras however, regard this Tirthankara as a male, according to them the highest knowledge is beyond the reach of any woman

45 See 70ff

46 *Sam* 25, 55, 39, 157, *Sthā*, 229, 777, *Nandisūtra* V 19, Kalp 186

47 *Nandisūtra* V 19, *Sam* 20, 50, 157, *Kalp* 185 *Sthā* 411, *Bhagavati* 576 617

48 *Nandi* V 19, *Sthā*, 411, 735 *Sam* 39 41 157 *Kalp*, 184

49 See I 65 40 III 184 8, III 184 17-22, XII 288 5-86

50 71 5

51 See *EI* Vol II, No 14(14)

52 See *Kalp* 174-83, *Sam* 10 18 40 54 104 110 157 *Nandi* V 19, *Sthā* 381, 626 681 735 *Uttarādhyayana* ch XXII see also Jacobi *SBE* Vol 45, pp 112 ff, *Nirayavalikā*, 5 1, *Nāyā* 53 129 *Antagadadasāo* 8-9

53 *Anguttara* (tr E M Hare), Vol III p 264

CHAPTER II

Pārsvanātha

The penultimate Jain Tīrthankara Pārsva was, in all probability, the real founder of Jainism The *Kalpasūtra* (149-69)[1] has given a brief history of his life, but even this brief account, like all other Jain writings, is full of stereotyped words and sentences According to this account, he was the son of Asvasena, king of Vārānasī by his wife Vāmā Charpentier writing in the *Cambridge History of India*[2] observes that "no such person as Asvasena is known from Brāhman records to have existed" But we need not accept the Jain account that Asvasena was really a king of Kāsī He probably belonged to an aristocratic Ksatriya family, let us not forget that the Jains have uniformly depicted all their Tīrthankaras as kings' sons The modern historian cannot help condemning this affected attitude of the early Jain canonical authors Such type of vanity is also discernible in the writings of the Buddhists, who leave no stone unturned to prove that their founder really belonged to the most angust and aristocratic family of those days[3] It is therefore, quite reasonable to infer that Pārsva, like the Buddha or Mahāvīra, was a scion of a well-to-do Ksatriya family

But the most significant fact about Pārsva is that he hailed from Vārānasī, the cultural and religious centre of India from time immemorial As a citizen of this great city, he probably came in contact with some men of vision That even Ksatriyas of this city were men of learning and intuition is proved by the fact that king Ajātasatru, lauded in the Upanisadic texts[4], is *described as belonging to this city He (not to be confused with* his Buddhist namesake) is delineated as expounding to Drpta Bālāki Gārgya, a Brahmin Ācārya, the real nature of Ātman His son Bhadrasena Ajātaśatrava too, was a man of wisdom and

a rival of the great Uddālaka[5] It is no wonder therefore, that Pārsva, as a scion of an aristocatic family of this marvellous metropolis, should receive some serious training in religion and philosophy in his early youth We are told that he led the householder's life upto the age of 30 and then renounced the world Nothing more is indicated in the canonical texts regarding his early life Only from some late texts we learn that he married a woman named Prabhāvatī[6]

The *Kalpasūtra* then goes on to say that after practising penance for 83 days Pārsva obtained omniscience After that he, we are told remained a *Kevalin* for 70 years dying at the age of 100 on the summit of the Sammeya mountain The round figure of 100 also looks suspect We should remember that the *Kalpasūtra*, which contains the earliest biography of this great prophet, was in all probability, written 500 years after his death Even then we are prepared to believe that Pārsva had a fairly long life and died at a ripe old age.

The *Kalpasūtra* does not give us any idea regarding Pārsva's doctrine But we have enough information in some other canonical texts about his teachings And quite a few of these canonical texts were composed before the *Kalpasūtra*

In the famous *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* (ch 23) is recorded a very beautiful conversation between Kesin a follower of Pārsva's church and Indrabhūti, a disciple of Mahāvīra From Kesin's words here we learn that Pārśva enjoined only four vows and allowed an upper and under-garment This conversation took place in the city of Śrāvastī where Kesin arrived, we are told with a large number of his associates We further learn from this conversation between the two monks that there was no fundamental difference between the two Teachers, Pārsva and Mahāvīra The only difference was that the law of Mahāvīra recognised 5 vows one more than that of Pārsva And while Pārsva allowed the use of cloths, Mahāvīra himself went about naked That Pārśva's followers (called Samanas) were almost everywhere during Mahāvīra's life-time is proved by some other references to his followers in the older texts The *Bhagavatī* more than once[7] refers to Pārśva's followers In the 9th Uddeśaka of the 1st Śataka of that work we are confronted with a follower of

Pārśva called Kālasavesiyaputta who at first expressed grave doubts regarding Mahāvīra's teachings The Master, however, before long, succeeded in converting him to his religion of 5-fold vows In the 5th Uddesaka of the 2nd Śataka of the same text we are told that the city of Tungiyā was often visited by Pārśva's followers In this connexion we came across the names of 4 monks belonging to Pārśva's school They are Kāliyaputta, Mehila, Kāsava and Ānamdarakkhiya The *Bhavavatī* records another interesting conversation (9 32) between a follower of Pārsva called Gamgeya (Gāngeya) and Mahāvīra at Vāniyagāma (near Vaiśālī) This further proves that even northern Bihar came under the influence of Pārśva This is also proved by the fact that according to the famous *Ācārānga Sūtra*[8] even Mahāvīra's parents, who lived near Vaiśālī, were themselves followers of Pārśva The importance of this statement of the *Ācārānga* can hardly be overemphasized This shows that Mahāvīra himself grew up under the umbrella of Pārśva's religion

The *Nāvādhammakahāo*[9] makes mention of one Pumdariya, a prince of Puskalāvatī, who became a follower of Pārsva's religion of 4 vows The same text[10] refers to a number of lay women who became followers of Pārsva's religion The *Nāvādhammakahāo*[11] also tells us the story of one old maiden called Kālī who joined the ascetic order of Pārśva The *Niravavalikā*[12], an Upānga text, gives us the story of the conversion of one Bhūyā, the daughter of a merchant of Rājagrha called Sudarsana, to the religion of Pārsva She was converted by Pupphacūlā, the principal lady-disciple of Pārsva So the combined testimony of the two texts viz *Nāvādhammakahāo* and *Niravavalikā* proves that women were freely admitted into the order of Pārsva Pārsva, who was a great rationalist, naturally had no affected towards the weaker sex Unlike the Buddha, he never hesitated to allow women to embrace the ascetic-life In his boyhood Pārsva probably had seen nuns belonging to various Brāhmanical schools at Kāśī Therefore no Ānanda was required to plead before him in favour of admitting women into the new order

One of the earliest canonical texts viz the *Sūtrakrtānga*[13] records a highly interesting discussion between Indrabhūti and a follower of Pārsva called Udaya Pedhālaputta Like Kesin

and Gāngeya he too, afterwards accepted the doctrine of Mahāvīra

The above discussion abundantly shows that Pārśva, who preached his new religion around 800 B C (250 years before Mahāvīra)[14], succeeded to a large extent in popularising his teachings in different parts of Northern India We have very strong reason to believe that the term 'Nirgrantha' was first invented by him and later came to denote his followers The evidence of the Buddhist texts also fully supports our contention The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* actually shows acquaintance with Pārsva s religion of 4 vows and not with Mahāvīra s doctrine of 5 restraints Elsewhere in the Pāli *Tripitaka*[15] there are references to the Nirgrantha religion of 4 vows although, to our eternal regret, the Buddhists have not mentioned him by name But it appears from their writings that Mahavīra was an ascetic belonging to the Nirgrantha order and nothing more

Pārśva was the first historical prophet of ancient India to understand clearly the real significance of *Ahimsā* The concept of non-violence is, no doubt, to be found in the earlier Upanisadic works and also the *Mahābhārata* But to Pārsva *Ahimsā* meant something more concrete It was his whole existence His other teachings (viz not to lie not to steal and not to have external possessions) are no doubt to be found in all schools of thought

We have already referred to Pārsva s attitude towards women He had also, unlike some later Jain thinkers, no affected attitude towards Brāhmanas The *Nirayavalikā* (3 3) contains the story of Brahmin Soma's conversion to Pārsva s order This Brāhmana was, like Pārsva, a citizen of Vārānasī That the doctrine of Pārsva had great appeal even for kings is proved by the elaborate story of the conversion of Paesi, king of Seyaviyī by Kesin, the famous follower of Pārsva told in the *Rāyapaseniya*[16], an Upānga text We have very little doubt that the *Pāvāsi Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* was composed in imitation of this Upānga text We must remember that Kesin was also known by the name 'Kumārasamana' And in the above mentioned Buddhist work a certain Kumārasamana is delineated

as engaged in conversation with king Pāyāsi of Setavyā, which is evidently the same as Seyaviyā As a matter fact, there is reason to believe that Pārśva's followers were also generally known as Kumārasamanas P C Bagchi[17] thinks that in a particular *Sūtra* of Pānini (II 1 69) these Kumāraśramanas have been referred to Although we cannot be dogmatic on this point, there may be some truth in his assertion

According to the *Samavāyānga* (157) Dinna was the principal male-disciple and Pupphacūlā the female-disciple of Pārśva Pupphacūlā, as we have already noticed, is also mentioned in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* His principal male lay-votary was Suvvaya[18] and female lay-votary Sunamdā[19]

Regarding the date of Pārsva, it may here be pointed out, that is is only from two late texts that we learn that his liberation took place 250 years before Mahāvīra's emancipation In the concluding lines of Mahāvīra's and Pārsva's biography in the *Kalpasūtra* which were obviously added during the council of Valabhī (circa 525 A D), and in the *Āvasyakabhāsya*(17), another text of practically the same date, we are told about this figure of 250 years It is quite possible that the time-gap separating Mahāvīra from Pārśva was less than 250 years But since we have no other evidence, we have to assign provisionally a date around 800 B C to Pārsva

NOTES

1 See also Jacobi's translation, in *SBE* (Vol 22), pp 271 ff

2 P 154

3 See specially in this connexion the *Ambattha Sutta* included in the *Digha Nikāya*

4 See *Brhadāranyaka Up*, 2 1 1, also *Kausitaki Up* 4 1

5 See *Śatapatha*, 5 5 5 14

6 See *Kalpasūtravrtti* by Samayasundra pp 164-5

7 I 9 II 5 IX 32 etc

8 See Jacobi's translation in *SBE* (Vol 22) p 194

9 Sec 141 ff

10 10th chapter of the second part

11 Para 148 (II I)

13 See Jacobi's translation (SBE, 45), pp 420 ff

14 For a discussion on the date of Pārśva, see *infra*

15 See under 'Nāthaputta and 'Nirgrantha' in Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*

16 See 157 ff

17 See Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volume (III), p 74

18 See *Kalpasūtra*, 163

19 *Ibid*, 164

CHAPTER III

Life of Mahāvīra

The last or the twenty-fourth Tīrthankara Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was born, according to some late non-canonical texts, 250 years after the emancipation of Pārśva The earliest non-canonical text that mentions this figure, is the *Āvaśyakabhāsya,*[1] a work written probably after 300 A D The same figure of 250 is obained from concluding passages of lives of Pārśva and Mahāvīra given in the *Kalpasūtra*[2], which were obviously added to that work during the council of Valabhī held during the reign of Dhruvasena 1 (c 525 A D), who was a feudatory of an imperial Gupta ruler From the Pāli texts we learn that he died a year or two before the demise of the Buddha And since he had a total life-span of 72 years, he was in all probability a somewhat junior contemporary[3] of the Śākyan prophet, who definitely died at the age of 80

Unlike his predecessors, Mahāvīra's life has received extensive treatment in the early Jain canonical texts The earliest work that throws considerable light on his life is the famous *Ācāranga Sūtra,* the first Anga and probably the earliest canonical work of the Śvetāmbara Jains There is very little doubt that the *Ācāranga* account of the life of Mahāvīra was composed a century or two after the demise of the Teacher and is therefore tolerably reliable But it should also be remembered that the *Ācāranga* gives the details of Mahāvīra's life upto his 42nd year (the date of enlightenment) and gives no information about his last 30 years

Both the *Ācāranga*[4] and *Kalpasūtra*[5] inform us that when the moon was in conjunction with the Hatthuttarā constellation (Uttaraphalgunī), Mahāvīra descended from the Puṣpottara celestial abode on the expiry of his period of life as a God

Then he took the form of an embryo in the womb of the Brahmin lady Devānandā of the Jālandhara lineage, wife of the Brāhmana Rsabhadatta of the Kodāla lineage (*Kodālasagottassa*) belonging to the Brāhmanical part of Kundagrāma town (*Māhanakumḍaggāme nayare*) According to the *Kalpasūtra*[6] Devānandā saw the following 14 objects in her dream-an elephant, a bull, a lion, an anointment, a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus lake, the ocean, a celestial abode, a heap of jewels and a flame

Then the following idea struck the mind of Śakra (Indra), the king of gods "It never has happened, nor does it happen, that Arhats, Cakravartins, Baladevas or Vāsudevas, in the past, present or future, should be born in low families, mean families, degraded families, poor families, indigent families, beggars' families or Brāhmanical families (they) are born in high families, noble families, royal families, noblemen's families, in families belonging to the race of Ikṣvāku, or of Hari or in other such families of pure descent on both sides"[7] Then he asked Harinegamesi, commander of the infantry (obviously another name of Skanda, who is also known as Naigameya or Naigamesa) to transfer the embryo from the womb of Devānandā to that of Triśalā of the Vāsistha *gotra* wife of Ksatriya Siddhārtha of the Kāsyapa *gotra* belonging to the Ksatriya part of the Kundapura town This Siddhārtha, we are further told was a scion of the clan of Jñātis (Prakrit Nāya) The order was soon carried out This event, according to the above mentioned texts, took place on the 83rd day after Mahāvīra's descent from heaven into the womb of Devānandā, when the moon was once more in conjunction with Uttaraphalguni[8] It was the 13th day of the dark half of the month of Āśvina The *Kalpasūtra*[9] further informs that in that night (83rd) Devānandā dreamt that the 14 objects of her dream were taken from her by Trisalā At the same time, the Kṣatriya lady Triśalā saw those 14 objects entering into her own dream

No modern historian can accept the transfer of embryo story, whatever may be its antiquity[10] It is more probable that Devānandā was the real mother of Mahāvīra and afterwards accepted by Kṣatriya Siddhārtha as his adopted son In this

connexion we would like to draw the attention of readers to the story told in the *Bhagavatī*[11] regarding Devānandā's meeting with Mahāvīra This meeting took place at the Brāhmanical part of Kundagrāma We are told that at that time (i e when Devānandā saw Mahāvīra when the latter was already a *Kevalin*) milk oozed from the breasts of that Brahmin lady When enquired by Gautama, his chief disciple, Mahāvīra explained that she was his mother and because of motherly affection it had happened so We are quoting here the original words of Mahāvīra "*Devānamdā māhani mamam ammagā, aham nam Devānamdāe māhanīe attae, taenam sā Devānamdā māhanī tenam puvvaputtasineharāgenam agavapanhayā, jāva samūsaviyaromakūvā mamam animisāe ditthīe pehamānī pehamānī citthai*' We should particularly take note of the expression *puvvaputtasineharāgenam* This beautiful incident narrated in such an early text as the *Bhagavatī* abundantly explodes the popular Jain belief that Mahāvīra was the son of the Ksatriya lady Triśalā The transfer of embryo story probably originated a century or two after the demise of Mahāvīra (circa 300 B C), when Jainism was firmly established in India and assumed a thoroughly anti-Brāhmanical stance It has to be remembered that in ancient India an adopted son (*dattaka*) was looked upon simply as 'real son' and so was the case with a *ksetraja* son (cf the case of the Pāndavas) Jacobi's conjecture that Devānandā was another wife of Siddhārtha should not be taken seriously[12] We however, do not want to be dogmatic on this issue, but we do feel that the mystery surrounding Mahāvīra's birth has not yet been properly investigated Probably the original Jain inventor of the embryo story had in mind the story of Krsna's birth as told in the Vaiṣnava devotional literature

Now, Siddhartha's wife Trisalā, according to the 7th century text the *Āvaśyakacurnī*[13] of Jinadāsagani Mahattara, was a sister of the illustrious Cetaka, a Ksatriya chief of Vaisālī But in the original canon nothing has been said about her relationship with that prince She, however gets here the significant name Videhadinnā[14] It should be remembered that Kūnika-Ajātaśatru, who according to the original canon, was a son of Cellanā, a daughter of Cetaka,[14A] receives the title

Videhaputta in the *Bhagavatī*[15] and a similar epithet of him is also found in the Pāli canon So it is permissible to conjecture that the author of the *Āvaśvakacurnī*, so famous for his erudition, had definite access to some other source which is now lost Another daughter of Cetaka, called Mṛgāvatī, according to the *Bhagavatī*[16], was the mother of the great Udayana of Kauśāmbī The Jain works[17] unanimously bestow on Ceṭaka the title 'king' and according to the *Nirayavalikā*[18] an Upānga text, he was as powerful a monarch as Kūniya, the king of Magadha It is exceedingly strange that this famous personality is entirely ignored in the Pāli canonical texts

According to both the *Ācāranga*[19] and *Kalpasūtra*[20] Mahāvīra was born on the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Caitra when the moon was in conjunction with the Uttaraphalgunī A scrupulous reader of the Jain texts is not expected to take such astronomical details seriously These details are scattered everywhere in the Jain literature and specially in connexion with the description of the lives of the Tīrthankaras He was christened Vardhamāna 'the increasing one' because the family treasure went on increasing from the moment of his birth[21] He was also known by two other names Samana and Mahāvīra We are told that he was called Samana by the people because he remained always engaged in penances, and Mahāvīra because he was not afraid of fears and dangers[22] The canonical texts also call him by such names as Nātaputta[23], Vesālii[24] and Videhadinna[25] The first name was evidently more popular since it is constantly referred to in the Buddhist texts Mahāvīra was called 'Vesālia' because he was born in a suburb of that city As his birthplace lay within the territory of Videha, he was given the name 'Videhadinna'

We have seen, in connexion with our discussion of Pārsva, that Mahāvira's parents themselves were followers of Pārsva Since this statement is found in the *Ācāranga* one of the oldest texts of the Jains, its authenticity cannot be questioned This implies that Mahāvīra himself grew up under the shadow of Pārśva's religion There is little doubt that Siddhārtha and Triśalā scrupulously taught him in his boyhood the Nirgrantha doctrine of 4 principal restraints as preached by the great

thinker from Kāśī As his birthplace was near the great city of Vaiśālī, it is highly probable that Mahāvīra came in contact not only with the followers of Pārśva in his early youth, but also with other thinkers of that celebrated city There is little doubt that this city was founded centuries before the birth of Mahāvīra and the Buddha According to the *Rāmāyana*[26] the kings of this city were known for their large-heartedness and religious disposition The combined testimony of the Jain and Pāli texts prove that the city had a number of shrines, mostly dedicated to *Yakṣas*, in the 6th century B C In the famous[27] *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* a number of such shrines are mentioned viz Sārandada, Cāpāla, Udena, Gotamaka, Bahuputta and Sattamba From the *Pātika Suttanta*[28] of the same work we further learn that Udena was to the east of Vaisālī, Gotamaka to the south, Sattamba the west and Bahuputta to the north of that city The shrine of Bahuputta, it is useful to note, was once visited by Mahāvīra as is vouched for by the evidence of the *Bhagavatī*[29] Another shrine of this city, mentioned in the *Bhagavatī*, was Komḍiyāyana where Gośāla performed his sixth *pauttaparihāra* (entering into another's dead body) We will elsewhere in this work discuss the nature of influence exercised by the *Yakṣa*-worship on early Jainism But it should have to be emphasised here that not all the *ceiya-ceiyas* were dedicated to the *Yakṣas* The shrine of Bahuputta, as is evident from the Upānga text the *Nirayāvalikā*[30], was probably dedicated to the goddess Bahuputtiyā, who was connected with children's welfare We are, however, aware of the fact that a certain Bahuputtiyā, elsewhere[31] in the Jain texts, is described as a spouse of *Yakṣa* Pūrnabhadra Regarding the Gotamaka shrine, we can say this much that Sabhāparvan[32] of the *Mahābhārata* speaks of the shrine of Gotamaka at Rājagṛha and connects it with Rsi Gautama There is no reason why the shrine of the same name, situated in Vaiśālī, should not be connected with the same Ṛṣi Worship of ancient saints, like the worship of *devas* and *yakṣas*, was an integral part of ancient Indian religion The worship of Ṛṣi Agastya is a well-known instance What we are trying to drive at is that both Mahāvīra and the Buddha were considerably influenced by the popular religious systems of

their time In this connexion we would like to draw the attention of readers to the words spoken by Mahāvīra in the 18th Śataka of the *Bhagavatī*[33] where he says that he used to visit places like *sabhā*, *pavā*, *ārāma*, *ujjāna* and *devakulas* That both Mahāvīra and the Buddha used to fraquent the popular *caityas* is clear from the Jain and Buddhist writings

Turning once more to the life of Mahāvīra, we find him marrying a girl called Yasodā (Jasoyā) of the Kaundinya *gotra* and the couple had a daughter, who was christened Priyadarsanā The Digambaras vehemently deny that Mahāvīra ever married, but we need not take their objection seriously It should be remembered that the reference to Mahāvīra s marriage is found in a work like the *Ācāranga*[34] and supported by the *Kalpasūtra*[35] So, we have to accept the fact of Mahāvīra's marriage, however distasteful it may appear to a Digambara Jain Both the above mentioned works refer to Mahāvīra's grand-daughter Yasovatī, the daughter of Priyadarsanā, but do not mention the name of Mahāvīra s son-in-law We, however learn from the *Ācāranga* that the son-in-law belonged to the Kausika *gotra*[36] From a few late works[37] we learn that Mahāvīra's son-in-law was Jamāli It is strange that although this gentleman is prominently mentioned quite a few times in the original canon, nothing has been said about his marriage with Priyadarsanā On the other hand, the *Bhagavatī*[38], which gives a detailed account of him and the story of his rebellion, refers to his eight wives His parents are mentioned, but not named We, however learn that he belonged to a highly prosperous family of Kṣatriya-Kundagrāma near Vaisālī

The next important event in Mahāvīra's life was his renunciation which took place on his attaining the age of thirty[39] Siddhārtha and Trisalā were no longer then in the land of living His elder brother Nandivardhana[40] and sister Sudarsanā[41] were there, but they apparently did not try to prevent Mahāvīra from embracing an entirely new life It is probable that before his final departure, Mahavīra gave his daughter in marriage to a person of Kausika *gotra*

At the age of 30, on the 10th day of the month of Mārgasīrṣa, when the moon was once more in conjunction with

Uttaraphalgunī, after taking permission from the elders,[42] Mahāvīra left for the park of Ṇāyasamda[43], which was situated near his home-town There under an Aśoka tree[44] he took all his ornaments and finery and then plucked out his hair in five handfuls[45] The *Kalpasūtra*[46] then informs us that Mahāvīra retained his cloth for 13 months and then wandered about naked

The original canon gives us some idea about Mahāvīra's wanderings in his 12-year pre-*Kevalajñāna* period The *Ācāranga* mentions a few places which he visited after his departure from home[47] And the *Bhagavatī*, which is also an original canonical text, gives us some vital information about this period of Mahāvīra's life And this information is to be found in the 15th Śataka of this work

According to this account in the 2nd year of his wanderings, Mahāvīra came in contact with Mankhaliputta Gośāla at Nālandā, a famous suburb of Rājagrha[48] The author of this portion of the *Bhagavatī* would have us believe that Gosāla became a disciple of Mahāvīra and wandered with him for six years in a number of places In this connexion the *Bhagavatī* mentions three viz Kollāga *Sannivesa* (a small town near Nālanda), Siddhārthagrāma and Kūrmagrāma All these places probably were situated near Rājagrha In the later texts, they are represented as visiting a number of places together[49]

A few places visited by Mahāvīra during his wanderings are mentioned in the *Ācāranga* We are told that besides Kummāragāma[50], a place he visited in the very beginning of his wanderings, he travelled in the country of the Lādhas[51], and also went to Vajjabhūmi and Subbabhūmi According to the commentaries[52], Vajjabhūmi and Subbabhūmi were the divisions of Lādha which is to be identified with West Bengal

In the commentaries like the *Nirjuktis* and *Cūrnīs* a very good number of places are described as being visited by Mahāvīra[53] But it is extremely doubtful whether all these places were ever visited by the Jain prophet A reading between the lines of the relevant passages of the original canon would convince a discerning reader that he only toured in Bihar and Bengal in his 12-year pre-enlightenment period

Both the works the *Ācāranga*[54] and the *Kalpasūtra*[55] have described in identical language the story of his final enlightenment We are told that in the 13th year, in the month of Vaisākha, when the moon was in conjunction with Uttara-phalgunī, Mahāvīra attained Nirvāna (enlightenment) outside the town of Jambhiya-gāma The exact place where he attained supreme enlightenment was on the bank of the river Rjupālikā and near the residence of a householder called Sāmāga, an old temple (*ceiya*) stood near the place of his Nirvāna

Next comes the most important period of Mahāvīra s life viz his life as a teacher and path-finder We are extremely fortunate to possess a passage, included in the *Kalpasūtra*, which gives us a very good idea about his 42-year ascetic-life including his 12-year pre-Nirvāna period The passage runs thus " the venerable ascetic stayed the first rainy season at Asthikagrāma, three rainy seasons in Campā and Prsthicampā, 12 in Vaisālī and Vānijyagrāma, 14 in Rājagrha and its suburb called Nālandā, 6 in Mithilā, 2 at Bhadrikā, 1 in Ālabhikā, 1 in Panitabhūmi, 1 in Śrāvastī, and 1 at the town of Pāpā in king Hastipāla s office of writers (*rajjūsabhā*)[56]" We have already observed that in his 12-year career as a learner Mahāvīra probably visited only a few places of Bihar and Bengal The passage, quoted above, does not probably give any chronological sequence of Mahāvīra's wanderings as a learner and teacher We must remember that the passage, in question, was composed probably 200 years after Mahāvīra's demise Therefore, it was almost impossible for the writer of the *Kalpasūtra* to give a complete chronological account of Mahāvīra's entire career as an ascetic But there is no doubt that the passage has given us a broad and general idea about his wanderings from the age of 30, upto his death at the age of 72

A closer analysis of the above-quoted passage of the *Kalpa-sūtra* would show that barring a year in Śrāvastī, and a year probably in Western Bengal, Mahāvīra spent his life only in what at present is known as the state of Bihar But he occasionally visited other places of India as is evident from the combined testimony of the passages scattered in the original

canon We have also to consider, in this connexion, the extremely valuable information given by the Pāli texts

According to different original texts the Master visited during his career as a teacher the following places-Kāmpilypura[57], Śāketa[58] Mathurā[59], Hastināpura[60], Vardhamānapura[61], Āmalakappā[62], Purimatāla[63], Kākandī[64], Polāsapura[65], Vārānasī[66], Kausāmbī[67], Seyaviyā[68], Kajangalā[69] etc The later texts and commentaries mention a large number of places visited by Mahāvīra But it is extremely doubtful whether their evidence has any real value The canonical account of Mahāvīra's visit to Hastināpura is probably based on imagination since this city, according to the Purānas[70] was destroyed by the Ganges during the reign Nicakṣus, a great-grandson of Janamejaya II The Jain and Buddhist writers had some real weakness for cities of epic fame, and that is why, cities like Hastināpura and Indraprastha occur so freequently in their writings, although both these cities disappeared from the map of India long before the birth of the Buddha and Mahāvīra Frequent references to the Kauravas and Iksvākus in the Jain and Buddhist texts also indirectly prove the influence of the two epics on these works

The Pāli texts also directly confirm the evidence of the Jain canonical texts regarding the wanderings of Mahāvīra The *Upālisutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*[71] refers to Nāthaputta's visit to Nālandā with a large company of Jain monks Another Pāli text viz the *Samyutta*[72] connects this place with Mahāvīra We have already seen that according to the *Kalpasūtra* the Teacher spent 14 rainy seasons at Rājagṛha and Nālandā It was at Nālandā, as we have already noticed, that Mahāvīra had met Gosāla for the first time Mahāvīra's intimate association with Rājagṛha is proved by repeated references to this city everywhere in the Jain canon The *Majjhima Nikāya* (No 14) also mentions the fact that Rājagṛha was a popular centre of the Jains It further informs us that there were numerous Jains residing on mount Isigili (Ṛsigiri) The Pāli works also confirm the Jain account of Mahāvīra's close link with Vaiśālī Both the *Majjhima*[73] and *Anguttara*[74] connect Mahāvīra with this place It is extremely interesting to note that even among the Sākyas of Kapilavastu, there was one Vappa, who was a

disciple of Mahāvīra This is proved by the evidence of the *Anguttara*[75] A place called Macchikāsanda, according to the *Samyutta*[76], was visited by Mahāvīra with a great company of the Jains

The combined evidence of the Jain and Buddhist texts leaves no room to doubt the great success of Mahāvīra's missionary activities The Nirgrantha religion founded by Pārsva around 800 B C, slowly yet surely became a major religion of Eastern India during Mahāvīra's life-time The Teacher, as we have already noticed, met with his greatest success in Bihar, although places outside this province like Śrāvastī region and Western Bengal came increasingly under the influence of the Jain religion

Let us now take a brief notice of Mahāvīra's relation with contemporary political figures The Magadhan king Śrenika—Bimbisāra, who was almost a personal friend of Gautama Buddha, figures in the Jain texts as an admirer of Mahāvīra [77] He is chiefly called by the name Senia or Seniya in the Jain canonical texts, although the name Bimbisāra (Bhambhasāra) is not entirely unknown [78] Although a few canonical texts depict him as a devotee of Mahāvīra, he is said to have gone to hell after his death [79] This probably shows that he was not really at heart a true Jain But there is little doubt that his eldest son Abhaya was a real admirer, if not a devotee of Mahāvīra [80] That he was essentially a kind-hearted and liberal person, is proved not only by the Jain texts but the Buddhist texts as well It was this prince, who by his kindness and love, converted an abandoned child of a prostitute into a world-renowned physician We are referring here to Jīvaka Komāravacca, the son of the courtesan Sālāvatī, who was later brought up as his foster-son by Abhaya The close connexion of Abhaya with the Jains is also proved by the evidence of the Pāli *Majjhima Nikāya* [81] Regarding Bimbisāra's more well-known son Ajātasatru, who succeeded him, it may be pointed out, that he was probably more inclined towards Jainism than any other religion It is, however, a fact that the Buddhist texts, sometimes claim him to be their follower As a matter of fact, the famous *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*

was recited to him by the Buddha in the concluding parts of which he expresses repentance for his sin of parricide But there is very great reason to suspect that his passion for Buddhist religion was never genuine His earliest *guru* was probably Devadatta, but at a later period, because of his mother's influence he became a friend and patron of Mahāvīra He is favourably painted almost everywhere in the Jain canon and especially in the *Aupapātika Sūtra*[82] The Jain texts like the *Bhagavatī*[83] and *Nirayavalikā*[84] give detailed account of his war with his opponents, the 18 confederate kings, in which he finally came out victorious

Kūnika-Ajātasatru's mother Cellanā, a cousin of Mahāvīra, and daughter of king Cetaka of Vaisālī, was favourably inclined[84A] towards the religion of her cousin Her father Cetaka, who was a brother of Kṣatriyānī Trisalā, is represented in later texts, as a devotee of Mahāvīra But what about the illustrious Prasenajit (Pasenadi of the Pāli texts), king of Kosala ? This great patron of Gautama Buddha has been almost totally ignored in the Jain canonical works[85] The other influential contemporary royal personalities like Udayana and Caṇḍa Pradyota had little to do with either of the two great heretical religions[86]

There were two main objectives before Mahāvīra when he started his missionary career The first was to convert the existing Nirgrantha ascetics belonging to Pārśva's order to his religion of 5 vows, and the second was to recruit new monks who would be able to popularise his teachings We have already referred to such conversion of monks belonging to Pārsva's order in the second chapter of this book These instances show that almost all the monks belonging to Pārśva's order were slowly converted to the new and more vigorous Nirgrantha religion preached by Mahāvīra Mahāvīra's second objective viz to recruit new monks also met with success Like Pārśva he too, had his Gaṇadharas (the head of a group of monks) and the *Kalpasūtra*[87] refers to his principal disciple Indrabhūti (Imdabhūi) who was a Brāhmana of the Gautama *gotra* This getleman was a highly learned person and appears in the famous 23rd chapter of the *Uttarādhyayana*

His two brothers Agnibhūti and Vāyubhūti were also prominent Ganadharas[88] Among other prominent disciples (Ganadharas) of Mahāvīra mention be made of Sudharman and Moriyaputta, the 5th and 7th Ganadharas respectively The Jain canon is said to have been preached to Jambusvāmin by Sudharman[89] We propose to identify Moriyaputta, the 7th Ganadhara with Tāmali Moriyaputta mentioned prominently in the *Bhagavatī*,[90] although the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*[91] would have us believe that they were different persons

Mahāvīra had a large number of nuns under him headed by Candanā[92] There was also no dearth of lay votaries, many of whom were quite prosperous[93] Details about them are given in the *Upāsakadaśā*, the 7th Anga of the Jain canon In this connexion we should at least mention Ānanda of Vāniyaggāma (a suburb of Vaiśālī) who was not only a very rich lay votary but also a very pious man His role is almost similar to that of Anāthapindika of the Buddhist texts The *Upāsakadaśā*[94] contains a story, according to which, even Indrabhūti was defeated in an argument with this lay votary of Mahāvīra

But the Teacher's religious career was not a smooth affair We have already briefly referred to Gośāla, who according to the Jain texts, was at first a disciple of Mahāvīra This controversial religious personality appears also in the Buddhist works as one of the six great heretical Teachers of the Buddha's time There is, nothing, however in the Pāli works to show that he was a disciple and subordinate of Nigrantha Nāthaputra But there is little doubt that Mankhaliputra Gosāla was a veritable thorn in the flesh of both Mahāvīra and the Buddha An analysis of the relevant passages of the *Bhagavatī*[95] and *Upāsakadaśā*[96] show that he was an influential Ājīvika leader of Śrāvastī and had a large number of followers He was, however, not the founder of the Ājīvika school, this sect was probably founded at least a century before the birth of Gośāla In this connexion we would like to invite the attention of readers to the story recorded in such an early Pāli text as the *Mahāvagga*[97] according to which, immediately after his enlightenment (at the age of 35), Buddha had met one Upaka who was a naked Ājīvika monk We have already seen that Mahāvīra was a

somewhat junior contemporary of the Buddha and there is little doubt that Mahāvīra at that time was probably in his late twenties and hence a householder at Ksatriya-Kuṇḍagrāma There was no question of his meeting Gosāla at that time This Upaka, therefore became an Ājīvika long before Gosāla started preaching his doctrine (according to the *Bhagavatī* Gośāla[98] had left Mahāvīra when the latter was 36 and founded his Ājīvika school in Śrāvasti) There are also other indications[99] in the Pāli texts to show that Ājīvikism was founded long before the Buddha and Mahāvīra

A few scholars believe[100] that it was Gośāla who had persuaded Mahāvīra to give up the habit of wearing cloth. There is however, nothing in the Jain canon to prove the veracity of this supposition The *Kalpasūtra*[101] simply states, as we have already noticed, that Mahāvīra wore clothes for one year and a month and then went about naked It is also a fact that Mahāvīra had met Gośāla in his 2nd year of renunciation But there is no reason why should we connect these two events As a matter of fact, the Ājīvikas were not the only naked ascetics of that time Even in the later Vedic period, monks belonging to different sects, used to wander about naked

From the relevant passages of the *Bhagavatī* it becomes clear that bitter rivalry continued between Gosāla and Mahāvīra till the time of the former's demise Mankhaliputra was proably a victim of epilepsy and his unnatural and premature death proably inspired the writer of the 15th Śataka of the *Bhagavatī* to write his account of the death of this bitter rival of Mahāvīra Any one who has taken the trouble of going through this Book of the *Bhagavatī* will, we believe, be able to comprehend, that the account was composed by a diehard Jain who had nothing but spite and hatred for the Ājīvikas There is little doubt that this religion continued to flourish for a long time after the death of Gośāla which took place in Śrāvastī, 16 years before the demise of Mahāvīra

A disciple of the Master called Jamāli, who was a scion of a rich Ksatriya family of Mahāvīra's home-town,[102] and who according to late commentaries,[103] a son-in-law of Mahāvīra, publictly announced his difference with his teacher and founded

his own school in Śrāvastī From the very beginning, as it appears from the *Bhagavatī*,[104] Jamāli started behaving like a rival of Mahāvīra The *Bhagavatī* further informs[105] us that immediately after embracing the ascetic-life, Jamāli started wandering alone with a few of his followers which was much against Mahāvīra's wish Afterwards there developed further doctrinal difference between the two and Jamāli, like Gośāla, declared himself a Jina in Śrāvastī Those who had express faith in him, remained with him in Śrāvastī and he, along with his disciples, stayed in the well-known Koṣṭhaka shrine of that town But those who refused to acknowledge him as their teacher went to Mahāvīra, who was staying then in the Pūrnabhadra shrine of Campā and reported the whole matter to him Afterwards, we are told, Mahāvīra publicly defeated Jamāli in a debate which took place at Campā [106] But Jamāli even after this, continued to defy Mahāvīra's authority till his death According to the Jain texts[107] he was the first Ninhava (propounder of wrong doctrines)

There is little doubt that Jamāli, like Devadatta, was a born rebel and had a distinct personality of his own It is a pity that we have no chance of coming across works composed by their disciples Therefore persons like Gośāla, Jamāli or Devadatta will continue to be treated merely as 'rebels' in the religious history of India

For 30 years Mahāvīra preached his doctrine and in spite of all opposition made his religion the solace for thousands of people of Eastern India The end came quietly at the town of Pāvā in the king Hastipāla's office of the writers on the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika while the moon was in conjunction with Svāti [108] In that very night, we are told, his chief disciple Indrabhūti obtained Kevala-*jñāna* [109] The *Kalpa-sūtra*[110] further informs us that in the night, the venerable ascetic died, the 18 confederate kings of Kāśī and Kosala instituted an illumination saying "since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter" Several Pāli canonical texts confirm the Jain account that Mahāvīra breathed his last at Pāvā[111] and also add that the Buddha died after the demise of the Jain Tīrthankara The writer in the

Cambridge History of India (Vol I)[112] believes that the Buddha died before Mahāvīra, which is obviously against the available evidence The present writer feels that the Buddhist account of the death of their founder after the demise of Nāthaputta is basically based on facts

NOTES

1 Verse No 17
2 See SBF, Vol XXII, pp 270, 275
3 Let us remember that both Mahāvīra and the Buddha died after the accession of Kūnika-Ajātaśatru The Buddhists hold that the Buddha died in the 8th year of Ajātasatru's reign (see Raychaudhuri in *PHAI* 6th ed, p 214) Since the Buddha died at the age of 80 and Mahāvīra at 72 the latter was slightly younger in age We should also remember that the rebellion of Devadatta, which coincided with the accession of Ajātaśatru was known to Mahāvīra (see *Majjhima*, No. 58) Therefore, there is little doubt that Mahāvīra was the younger teacher
4 See *SBE* Vol XXII p 189
5 *Ibid* p 219
6 *Loc cit*
7 *Kalpasūtra* (SBE, Vol XXII) p 225
8 *Ibid* pp 189 229
9 P 230
10 Let us remember that the story is found in such early texts as the *Ācāranga* and *Kalpasūtra* An early sculpture from Mathurā also supports the tradition of the transfer of embryo
11 (Sailana ed) Vol IV pp 1690-1704
12 See *SBE* Vol XXII *Introd* p XXXI fn 2
13 Vol I, p 245
14 See SBE Vol XXII, p 193
14A See *Nirayavalikā* (Rajkot 1960), pp 25ff
15 Vol III, p 1199
16 Vol IV p 1986
17 *Loc cit* See also *Nirayavalikā* pp 40 ff
18 P 44f
19 P 191
20 P 251
21 *Ācāranga*, p 192
22 *Kalpasūtra*, pp 255-56
23 See Mehta and Chandra, *Prakrit Proper Names* part II, p 576
24 *Loc cit*

25 *Loc cit*
26 Gītā Press ed, I 47 18
27 See Nālandā ed, Vol II, pp 92f
28 Nālandā ed, Vol III, p 9
29 Vol VI, p 2665
30 See III, 4th Adhyayana
31 See Mehta and Chandra, *op cit*, Vol II p 503
32 Gītā Press ed 21 5-8
33 See Vol VI p 2759
34 P 193
35 This text, however, does not mention her name
36 *Ācāranga* p 194
37 See *Āvasyakacurnī* Vol I, p 416, *Kalapasūtravṛtti* (of Dharma sāgara) p 92 *Uttarādhyayanavrtti* (Śāntisūri) p 154
38 Vol IV p 1723
39 *Ācāranga* p 194, *Kalpasūtra* p 256
40 See *Ācāranga* p 193
41 *Loc cit*
42 *Kalpasūtra* p 256
43 *Ācāranga*, p 199, *Kalpasutra* p 259
44 *Kalpasūtra*, p 259
45 *Ācāranga* p 199, *Kalpasūtra* p 259
46 Pp 259 60
47 Pp 84f
48 Vol V pp 2376 ff
49 See Mehta and Chandra, *op cit*, part II, pp 577 ff
50 P 200
51 P 85
52 See p 84 note 1
53 See Mehta and Chandra, *op cit* Part II, p 580
54 Pp 201 f
55 P 263
56 P 264
57 See *Nāyā* 157 *Upā*, 35
58 *Ant* 14
59 *Vipāka*, 26
60 *Anut* 6
61 *Vipāka* 32
62 *Rāj* 5 ff
63 *Vipāka* 16
64 *Ant*, 14, *Anut*, 3
65 *Upā*, 39-45, *Ant*, 15
66 *Upā*, 27, 30, *Ant*, 15
67 *Bhagavatī*, Vol IV, p 1987
68 See *Āvaśvakaniryukti* vs 469

69 See *Bhagavatī*, Vol I, p 391
70 See *Visnu Purāna*, IV 21 8, see also *PHAI* (6th ed), p 43
71 See Nālandā ed, Vol II, p 43
72 Nālandā ed, Vol III, p 281
73 Nālandā ed, Vol I, p 280
74 Nālandā ed, Vol III, pp 293 ff
75 Nālandā ed, Vol II, pp 210 f
76 Nālandā ed Vol III, p 265
77 See *Dasa*, 10 1, also *Ṇāyā*, 148
78 *Uvavāyiya*, 9, *Dasa* 10 1, *Sthā* 693
79 *Sthā* 693
80 See Mehta and Chandra, *op cit* Vol I, pp 49 ff
81 See Nālandā ed, Vol II, pp 67 ff
82 See Sailana ed, pp 56 ff
83 See Vol III, pp 1199ff
84 See pp 45 ff
85 For a somewhat late reference to him see *Uttarādhyayananiryukti*, p 286
86 The *Bhagavati* however, represents Udayana as honouring Mahāvīra see Vol IV, p 1987
87 Pp 267, 286
88 *Loc cit*
89 See Mehta and Chandra, *op cit* Part I, p 270
90 Vol II, p 572
91 See vss 595, 623, 645, 648
92 *Kalpasūtra* p 267
93 See specially the various stories about them given in the *Upāsakadasā*
94 *Upā* 16f
95 See Śataka 15
96 See N A Gore (ed), 1953, pp 114ff
97 Nālandā ed, p 11
98 See Vol V, p 2386
99 See Nālandā ed of *Majjhima* Vol I, pp 41 ff
100 See Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* p 300
101 Pp 259-60
102 See *Bhagavati*, Vol IV, p 1705
103 See *Āvasyakacūrnī*, I, p 416, *Kalpasūtravrtti* by Dharmasāgara, p 92
104 Vol IV, pp 1752f
105 *Ibid*, pp 1753f

3

106 *Ibid*, pp 1758ff
107 See *Sthā*, 587, *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, 780
108 *Kalpasūtra*, p 269
109 *Ibid*, p 265
110 *Ibid*, p 266
111 See *Dīgha* Vol III p 91, *Majjhima*, Vol III, p 37
112 P 163

CHAPTER IV

Spread of Jainism (Early Phase)

It is extremely difficult to have a correct idea about the progress of Jain religion during the centuries preceding the Christian era in different parts of India The available inscriptions, it is true, give us some help regarding the condition of Jain religion in some parts of India But with the exception of the Mathurā region and Orissa, very few pre-Christian inscriptions, connected with Jain religion, have been discovered[1] But the early canonical texts give us some help about the progress of Jain religion in different parts of Northern India

In our discussion on the career of Pārsva we have noticed that he was successful in popularising the Nirgantha religion in different parts of what is now known as U P This religion, as we have already pointed out originated in all probability, at Kāsī and before the demise of that great prophet won a good number of converts in some prominent cities of U P He himself personally visited places like Kausāmbī,[2] Sāketa,[3] Kāmpilyapura,[4] Āmalakappā,[5] Mathurā[6] and a few other cities We are also told that he carried out missionary activities in Rājagrha[7]

After the demise of Pārsva his close disciples undoubtedly continued his task of popularising the doctrine of 4-fold restraints In the canonical literature we often come across his disciples The city of Tungiyā is specially mentioned in the *Bhagavatī*[8] as a centre of the disciples of Pārsva We have already noticed that even Northern Bihar after Pārsva's death, came under the influence of his religion Not only were the parents of Mahāvīra followers of Pārsva, but a prominent disciple belonging to his school lived at Vāniyaggāma[9] near Vaisālī The *Sūtrakrtānga*[10] refers to another prominent disciple, be-

longing to Pārsva's school, whom Mahāvīra met and converted[9] at Nālandā. A few other places connected with the missionary activities of monks of Pārśva's order (*Pāsā-vaccijja*) have already been noticed. It is exceedingly probable that before the birth of Mahāvīra the Nirgrantha religion founded by Pārsva was firmly established in U.P. and Bihar.

Under Mahāvīra Jain religion became one of the major religious sects of Eastern India. We have already noted that Mahāvīra visited a good number of places of Eastern India during his missionary career and converted a large number of people of different prominent cities. He, however, achieved his greatest success in Bihar where the Nirgrantha religion became almost as popular as the religion founded by Gautama Buddha. This is indirectly confirmed by Pāli canonical texts. Another interesting thing which a zealous student of these two great heretical religions will not fail to notice is that whereas the Buddhist canonical writers take so much trouble in mentioning repeatedly Nāthaputta and his followers the Jain counterparts do not almost take any notice of the Buddha and his monks. The only religious rival of Mahāvīra, who figures prominently in the Jain canon, is Gośāla. In the commentaries however, the later Jain writers take some notice of the Buddha and his followers.

As a result of Mahāvīra's religious conquest western Bengal came under the influence of Jainism. We have already noticed in connexion with our discussion on the career of Mahāvīra that he undertook tours to that part of Eastern India. It is also permissible to believe that Bengal accepted Jainism before Buddhism as only a few places of this province figure in Pāli canonical texts. Some parts of western U.P. also were visited by Mahāvīra. And we should particularly take note of Mahāvīra's visit to the great city of Mathurā[11] which, as we have already noted, was visited by Pārsva. We will afterwards see how this city became gradually one of the biggest centres of Jain religion in Northern India.

The *Bhagavatī*[12] gives us the somewhat intriguing information that Mahāvīra visited the city of Vītībhaya, the capital of Sindhu Sauvīra. We are told in this connexion that the

Master travelled all the way from Campā to Vītībhaya in order to meet king Udāyana of Sindhu-Sauvīra We are further told that this king afterwards became a Nirgantha monk The *Bhagavatī* account of Mahāvīra's visit to the country of Sindhu-Sauvīra cannot be dismissed as a product of imagination since the work itself was probably written a century or two after Mahāvīra's demise And once we accept the *Bhagavatī* account of Mahāvīra's visit to the country of Sindhu-Sauvīra, we have to admit that the message of the Nirgrantha religion reached India's western coast in the lifetime of the Teacher himself And it was indeed no mean achievement !

It is not easy to trace the history of the spread of Jainism after the death of Mahāvīra But a careful study of the relevant portions of the *Therāvalī*, which is a part of the *Kalpasūtra* will give us some positive idea about the history of the gradual spread of Jainism in different parts of India

Among the four *śākhās* originating from Godāsa, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu, who flourished in the 4th century B C, we have the following three significant names[13]—Tāmraliptikā *śākhā*, Koṭivarṣiyā *śākhā and* Puṇdravardhaniyā *śākhā* All the three *śākhās* were evidently connected with the three well known geographical units, all of which were situated in Bengal The first name does not need any comment The second name Koṭivarṣa, according to the *Pannāpannā*,[14] a canonical text was the capital of Lādha country and the third, the present North Bengal We have already noticed that Mahāvīra himself visited some places of Bengal during his missionary career So it is natural that Jainism should flourish after his death in the countries where he taught his doctrine But there was another more important factor behind the popularity of Jainism in Bengal in pre-Christian times We have already seen that according to the *Therāvalī* all these *śākhās* originated from from Godāsa, who was a disciple of the great Bhadrabāhu Now, this saint (i e Bhadrabāhu), according to the *Bṛhatkathākośa*[15] of Hariṣena (931 A.D), was born at the town of Devakotta situated in the Puṇḍravardhana country There is no doubt that Hariṣena was indebted to earlier works for this information about Bhadrabāhu's place of birth It is natural

therefore, that the *śākhās* founded by Godāsa, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu, should be connected with Bengal

So far as Tāmralipta is concerned, it would not be unreasonable to note, that at the famous port of Tāmralipta lived the merchant Tāmali Moriyaputta, who became a Jain recluse apparently in Mahāvīra s lifetime The story of how he renounced everything is beautifully told in the *Bhagavatī*[16] Regarding Northern Bengal we will afterwards see that this country produced true and devoted Jains in the Gupta period

From Balisaha who was a disciple of Ārya Mahāgiri (c 300 B C), who himself was a disciple of the well known Sthūlabhadra, originated a number of *śākhās* And among them the name Kauśāmbikā is conspicuous by its presence This *śākhā* was evidently connected with the famous city of Kauśāmbī, the capital of the Vatsa country and which according to the Purānas, rose to prominence after the destruction of Hastināpura by the Gangā in circa 1300 B C During the lifetime of Mahāvīra and Śākyamuni Kauśāmbi was a flourishing metropolis, and the capital of the celebrated Udayana who did not hesitate to pay homage to Mahāvīra when he visited his city[17] Jayantī, an aunt of Udayana became a Jain nun according to the *Bhagavatī*[18] Another Jain Anga text viz the *Vipākaśruta*[19] tells the story of the love affair of Bṛhaspatidatta the priest of Udayana, and Padmāvatī, a queen of that famous king

Among the *śākhās* originating from Ārya Rohana[20] (c 250 B B), a disciple of Suhastin we have the very significant name Udumbarikā This *śākhā* was surely connected with the Audambara tribe who lived in the Punjab and whose coins dating from pre Christian times, have been discovered in large numbers from the Punjab[21] There is no doubt that by the time this *śākhā* originated (c 250 B C)[22] Jainism was firmly established in the Punjab From another disciple of Suhastin viz Bhadrayaśas originated a number of *śākhās*, apparently in the middle of the third century B C At least two *śākhās* originating from him were connected with geographical names They were Bhadrīyikā and Kākandikā[23] These two *śākhās* were apparently connected with the towns of Bhadrikā and Kākandī,

mentioned prominently in the Jain texts From another disciple of Suhastin viz Kāmardhi originated a number *śākhās*, among which Śrāvastikā *śākhā*[24] deserves special mention As the name indicates, this *śākhā* was connected with the famous city of Śrāvastī which was more than once visited by Mahāvīra It was in this famous city that persons like Gosāla and Jamāli preached their doctrines It was in this town that the famous encounter between the two great teachers, viz Mahāvīra and Gośāla, took place From yet another disciple of Suhastin viz Ṛṣigupta, originated a number of *śākhās* among which the most significant name is that of Saurāṣṭrika[25] This shows that before the end of the third century B C, Jainism reached the country of Gujarat, and as history proves, it has maintained its glorious existence in that country till our present time Another interesting *śākhā* connected with a definite geographical name is that of Madhyamikā[26] which originated from another disciple of Suhastin The town of Madhyamikā, it is interesting to note, is mentioned in the canonical texts[27] And the creation of this *śākhā* before the end of the 3rd century B C proves that Jain religion reached Rajasthan before that time

This rapid analysis of the names of the *śākhās* of the *Therāvalī* gives us some idea about the history of the spread of Jainism in different parts of India A particular passage[28] of the *Bṛhatkalpa*, a *Chedasūtra* text, attention to which has already been drawn by previous scholars, seems to indicate the extent of the spread of Jainism at the time of its composition (c 350 B C) We are told in this passage that a Jain monk must not go beyond Anga-Magadha in the east, Kauśāmbī in the south, Kuṇāla (N Kosala) in the north and Thuṇā (Thaneswar) in the west This passage was in all probability composed before the creation of the *śākhās* mentioned in the *Therāvalī* The *Bṛhatkalpa* may not be a very old text, but the passage in question probably preserves a much older tradition

In 1912 a stone inscription was discovered by Pandit G H Ojha from a place called Baḍalī in Ajmer district, Rajasthan[29] This inscription, according to that celebrated palaeographist, contains the words 'eighty four' and 'Vīra' Pandit Ojha argues that the palaeography of this inscription is older than those of

Aśoka and that is why he feels that the inscription should be referred to the year 84 of the Vīra Nirvāna era In *that case the inscription should be regarded* as old as 400 B C Some orthodox Jain scholars have therefore, jumped to the conclusion that Jainism was introduced in Rajasthan before 400 B C Ojha further remarks[80] that his view, regarding the above-mentioned inscription has the support of MM S C Vidyabhusan D C Sircar, another noted epigraphist, however, assigns[81] the inscription to the close of the 2nd century B C, although he does not offer any argument in favour of such a late date for this inscription The present author has very carefully examined the letters of this inscription and strongly feels that its palaeography cannot be later than the palaeography of the inscriptions of Asoka Sircar's attempt at explaining '*caturasiti*' as meaning '84 villages', is to say the least, ludicrous But even then we cannot accept totally Ojha's view regarding the terms 'Vīra' and '84' As a matter of fact, in no prechristian record do we get any reference to the Vīra Nirvāna era And if the tradition recorded in the *Therāvalī* has any value, then we have to accept that Jainism was introduced in Rajasthan only after 250 B C But we are ready to revise our opinion, if we come across fresh and more positive evidences

We do not know much about the religious leaning of the Nandas But the Jains claim that the first Mauryan emperor Chandragupta embraced their religion during the closing years of his life Candragupta's name is absent in all early Śvetāmbara canonical and non-canonical texts, and it is only in some Bhāṣya and Cūrṇī text,[32] written after the Gupta period, that he is mentioned by name But even in those works, he is not called a Jain But the Digambara traditions, both literary and epigraphic, delineate this celebrated royal personality as a Jain devotee[33] Some scholars believe that the earliest Digambara literary tradition regarding Candragupta's conversion is that recorded by Harisena in the *Bṛhatkathākoṣa* (931 A D) But a much earlier Digambara literary work, viz the *Tiloya-Pannatī*, written around 600 A.D, represents Candragupta as a Jain devotee[34] But even this work was composed some 900 years after the death of that great emperor So we cannot accept, in

the absence of some earlier evidence, the argument of scholars like Smith[35] and Raychaudhuri[36] who hold that Candragupta became a Jain *sādhu* before his death The Greek and Roman historians, who definitely knew the Jains[37], have not said anything regarding Candragupta's conversion to that religion On this other hand, there are indications in their writings that Candragupta was an orthodox Hindu, believing in the sacrificial religion The famous play of Viśākhadatta, written before the *Tiloya-Pannatī* does never connect Candragupta with Jainism It also looks a little fantastic that a stern and ruthless military conqueror like Candragupta Maurya, should in a fine morning, turn into a penniless Jain *muni* and end his life in so strange a manner

We have another very significant passage[38] in the *Niśītha-viśesacurnī* of Jinadāsagani Mahattara (7th cent A D), which also seems to go against the Digambara tradition The passage compares the Maurya dynasty with a barley-corn emphasising that its middle portion, represented by the rule of Samprati, was only elevated Had Candragupta been a Jain, Jinadāsagani would never have failed to notice it in this vital passage This evidence probably goes far to destroy the contention of the Digambaras regarding Candragupta s conversion to Jainism

Regarding Aśoka, the third Mauryan king, it can be said with certainty that he was a Buddhist But as a liberal and magnanimous monarch he had respect for non-Buddhists, and the Ājīvikas and Jains have been mentioned in his records [39] The Śvetāmbara commentaries mention him as a king of Pātaliputra[40] His son Kunāla is also mentioned several times and a tragic story about the loss of his eyes has been told in the commentaries[41] Kunāla's son Samprati (Sampai), according to the Jain commentaries[42], was a devout Jain and left no stone unturned to make this religion popular in different parts of India That Samprati is not a shadowy figure, is proved by the combined evidence of the Jain, Buddhist and Purānic texts[43] Jinadāsagani informs[44] us that Samprati constructed Jain shrines in countries like Andhra, Damila, Marahaṭṭa etc We are further told that he was a votary of Suhastin We have already noticed that it was during the time of Suhastin that different

kulas and *śākhās* were established in different places of India So there is little doubt that the uniform Jain tradition regarding Samprati's leaning towards the Nirgrantha religion is based essentially on facts

NOTES

1 The inscription from Badalī (Rajasthan) which is definitely a pre-Christian record, is however, a doubtful case
2 *Nāyā*, 158
3 *Ibid* 154 157
4 *Ibid*, 157
5 *Ibid*, 148-9
6 *Ibid* 156
7 *Ibid* 158 *Nir* 4 1
8 Sailana ed p 468
9 *Bhag* p 1614
10 See *SBE* Vol 45 p 420
11 *Vip* 26 see also the edition from Kota (1935) pp 204 ff
12 P 2234
13 See *SBE* Vol 22 p 288
14 37th paragaraph
15 Edited A N Upadhye 131 1 4
16 Pp 572 ff
17 *Bhag* p 1987
18 *Ibid* pp 1987 f
19 Kota, 1935 pp 200 ff
20 *SBE* Vol 22 p 290
21 See *The Age of Imperial Unity* p 162 note 4
22 Since Rohana s preceptor Suhastin was a disciple of Sthūlabhadra (c 300 B C) Rohana flourished in the middle of the 3rd cent B C
23 *SBE*, Vol 22 p 291
24 *Loc cit*
25 *SBE* Vol 22 p 292
26 *Loc cit*
27 See *Vipākasruta* (Kota 1935) p 369 see also *Sukhavipāka Sūtra* (Sailana), p 26
28 I 51-52
29 See *Bhāratiya prācin Lipimalā* in Hindi pp 2f for the original inscription see *JBORS* Vol XVI pp 67 8
30 Ojha *op cit* p 3 fn 1
31 Sircar *Select Inscriptions* etc p 89

32 See Mehta and Chandra *Prakrit Proper Names* Part I p 245
33 See Raychaudhuri in *PHAI* pp 294 f
34 See *Tiloya-Pannati*, IV 1481
35 See *Oxford Hist of India* p 76
36 *PHAI*, p 295
37 See Majumdar *Classical Accounts of India* pp 425 ff
38 See Vol IV, pp 128-31
39 See *Select Inscriptions* etc, p 63
40 See Mehta and Chandra *op cit* Part I p 72
41 *Ibid*, p 188
42 *Ibid*, Part II, p 741
43 See *PHAI*, pp 350 ff
44 *Nis Cū*, Vol IV, pp 128 ff

CHAPTER V

Jainism in Mathurā

According to Jain canonical accounts both Pārśva and Mahāvīra had visited Mathurā in course of their religious wanderings The story of Pārśva s visit to this great city is recorded in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[1] and that of Mahāvīra in the *Vipāka Śruta*[2] It is however extremely doubtful whether these visits had created any substantial enthusiasm among the sophisticated residents of this city

The great city of Mathurā was under the occupation of the non-Aryan (Asura) chief Lavana during the days of Rāma At a later period of Rāma's reign at Ayodhyā, his younger brother Śatrughna had wrested this city from the above-mentioned barbarian chief[3] The same text informs us that this city gradually became a celebrated centre of trade and commerce The king of Mathurā, some fifty years before the Bhārata war was Kamsa[4] who was a friend of the great Jarāsandha of Maghadha As it well known, his nephew Krsna, son of Devakī and Vasudeva, with the help of his elder brother Baladeva had killed him in his own court But the Vrṣnis, as we learn from the Sabhāparvan[5] of the *Mahābhārata*, were uprooted from Mathurā, lock, stock and barrel, by Jarāsandha The Vrsnis, who had fled to Dvārakā once more returned to North India after the death of Vāsudeva and Baladeva The *Mahābhārata* tells us that the Vrsnis, under Krsna's great-grandson Vajra, were rehabilitated by Arjuna at the town of Indraprastha[6] They also got a foothold in the Punjab (Pañcanada country) as we learn from the *Visnu Purāna*[7] At a later stage, Mathurā became a centre of Bhakti cult, first propagated by Vāsudeva Krṣna[8] Both the Buddhist and Jain canonical writers show their intimate acquaintance with this place The story of the Buddha's

visit to Mathurā is recorded in the *Anguttara Nikāya*[9] But the Buddha himself looked upon this city with disfavour[10]. According to the Pāli texts, this city was infested with Yakṣas[11] But soon after the demise of the Buddha, one of his great disciples Mahākaccāna started preaching the doctrine of his Guru in this city We further learn that the king of Mathurā, after the death of Buddha, was one Avantīputta[12], who judging by his name, was probably connected with the ruling house in Avantī One of the finest Sūtras of the Pāli literature viz *Madhurasutta* was recited by the above-mentioned disciple of the Buddha in this city The meeting of the learned Brāhmana Kandarāyana with Mahākaccāna took place in this city at a place called Gundāvana near Mathurā[13] This Gundāvana may or may not be identical with Vrndāvana[14] of Sanskrit literature

Regarding the actual introduction of Jainism in the Mathurā region, we have a story told in the *Paumacariyam* of *Vimalasūri*, a text composed 530 years after the demise of Mahāvīra[15] This date is supplied by the poet in the concluding verses of his poem And there is nothing in the *Paumacariyam* itself that stands against this date We have therefore to accept it as a work of the 1st century A D[16] According to this poem the Śvetāmbara Jain religion was introduced in Mathurā by the following seven Jain saints —Suramantra, Śrīmantra, Śrītilaka, Sarvasundara, Jayamantra, Anilalalita and Jayamitra[17] The *Paumacariyam* contains a verse[18], the importance of which can hardly be overestimated for the early history of Jainism, which runs as follows —

> *iha Bhārahammivāse volīne Nandanaravīkāle*
> *hohī paviralagahano Jinadhamme ceva dusamāe*

According to this verse the Jain religion had to encounter difficult days after the rule of the Nandas The poet further informs us that the people of India during this period had become more interested in the religion of the Buddha and Śiva (Linga)[19] But as a result of the missionary activities of the above mentioned Jain monks, the religion of Pārśva and Mahāvīra became once more popular in some parts of India There is little doubt that the author of the *Paumacariyam*, writing in the 1st century A D,

faithfully portrays the religious condition of pre-Christian India when Buddhism was all-dominant Saivism also, if we have to believe in the evidence of Patañjali[20], was quite popular in the Maurya period The above mentioned seven Jain saints, we are told, were responsible for the introduction of Jainism not only in Mathurā but also Sāketa (Ayodhyā)[21] In this connexion, we are informed by Vimala that there was a temple dedicated to Muni Suvrata, the 20th Tīrthankara, at the town of Sāketa[22] Apparently, this temple was built a few centuries before Vimala This was surely one of the earliest Jain temples of Northern India The Jain Rsis, according to the account of the *Paumacariyam*[23], went to Mathurā from Sāketa And if this account be accepted, we must conclude that Jainism travelled to Mathurā from eastern India *via* Ayodhyā

Since the earliest Jain inscription from Mathurā is as old as 150 B C, it can easily be conjectured that Jainism got a foothold there by the beginning of the 2nd century B C, if not earlier The seven Jain monks, who are mentioned in the *Paumacariyam* in connexion with the introduction of Jainism in Mathurā, probably flourished in that period It is also possible that some of them were the teachers of a few Jain monks mentioned in the inscriptions The account of the *Paumacariyam* induces us to believe, that the monks responsible for the introduction of Jainism in Mathurā, originally hailed from the great country of Kosala, the metropolis of which, as we have already noticed in a previous chapter, was intimately connected with the activities of Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthankara Pārsva, the real founder of Jainism, according to the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[24] had paid a visit to Sāketa in course of his religious tour The Jain canonical writers believe Kosala to be the homeland of most of their earlier Tīrthankaras It is also possible that cities like Śrāvastī had received their first dose of Jainism even before the birth of Mahāvīra The Śrāvastikā *śākhā*, mentioned in the *Therāvalī* had originated in the 3rd century B C, and its very name indicates that this *śākhā* originated in Śrāvasti, the capital of Kosala

What we are trying to suggest is that the Jain monks of Kosala by 200 B C, had started popularising their religion in

the celebrated city of Mathurā, which was surely a great centre of Bhāgavata cult from a much earlier period This city, according to both Jain and Buddhist sources, was also intimately connected with Yakṣa worship We have already noted the evidence of the Pāli canon regarding Yaksa worship in Mathurā According to the *Vipāka Śruta*[25] there existed a shrine dedicated to Yakṣa Sudarsana in Mathurā So the Jain monks had to meet the challenge of both the Vaisnavas and Yaksa worshippers And it is needless to say, and as attested by scores of inscriptions, the Jain religion had received good support from the ordinary people of Mathurā

In this connexion we would like to point out that not only Kosala, but the adjoining Vatsa territory also probably sent Jain missionaries to Mathurā The *Bhagavatī*[26] records that Mahāvīra was very cordially received along with his disciples by the great king Udayana in his capital Kauśāmbī The Kauśāmbikā *śākhā*, mentioned in the *Therāvalī*, as we have already noticed in a previous chapter, originated by the beginning of the 3rd century B C Two inscriptions[27] from Pabhosa near Kauśāmbī of the 2nd century B C, prove that the Jain monks enjoyed royal patronage during the Śunga period in the Kauśāmbī region So it is possible that like the monks of Kośala, the Jain *sādhus* of the Vatsa country took active interest in the propagation of Jainism in Mathurā

An interesting fact told by Vimala in his description of the introduction of Jainism in Mathurā is that the images of Tīrthankaras along with the images of the above-mentioned Jain *sādhus* gradually came to be installed in different residential buildings of Mathurā Now, image-worship was an integral part of Yaksa worship Every important Yaksa shrine in Northern India had images of Yaksa, to which it was dedicated In this connexion we can refer to the story of Yakṣa Moggarapāṇi of Rājagṛha told in the *Antagaḍadasāo*[28] where there is a definite and clear reference to the image of that Yakṣa We further learn from the *Vipāka Śruta*[29] that the images of Yakṣas were worshipped with leaves, flowers etc, like the image of gods The practice of worshipping from later Vedic times, Deva[30] and Yakṣa icons, in their respective

shrines, naturally influenced the early Jain religion We will afterwards see that the worship of icons of Tirthankaras was practised even in the 4th century B C It is also safe to conjecture that the temple of Muni Suvrata at Śāketa, built probably in the 3rd century B C, had an image of that Tirthankara

The earliest Jain inscription from Mathurā has been assigned to the middle of the 2nd century B C by Buhler[81] We are referring to the stone inscription[82] which records the dedication of an arch for the temple (*pāsādotorana*) by *sāvaka* Utaradāsaka (Uttaradāsaka), son of Vachī (Vātsī) and disciple (*amtevāsi*) of the ascetic (*samana*) Māharakhita (Māgharaksita) This monk Māgharaksita surely flourished in the first half of the 2nd century B C and was one of the successful early Jain missionaries of Mathurā This inscription further proves that the earliest Jain temple in Mathurā was already in existence in the present Kankālī Ṭīlā area before 150 B C And this temple (*pāsāda*) was probably the *devanirmita stūpa* of a 2nd century Jain inscription about which we will have something more to say afterwards And it is also tempting to conjecture that our Māgharaksita was a disciple of one of those seven monks mentioned in the *Paumacariyam* But in the the absence of more positive proof we cannot be dogmatic on this point

Chronologically, the next Jain inscription from Mathurā is that which mentions a person called Gotiputra and his wife Śimitrā who belonged to Kauśika *gotra*[83] This inscription records, after invocation of Arhat Vardhamāna, the setting up of a tablet of homage (*āyāgapaṭa*) by the above-mentioned lady But the most important expression of this inscription is the epithet *pothayasakakālavāla* given to her husband Gotiputra Buhler translates it as 'black serpent to the Poṭhayas and Śakas'[84] The Pothayas of this inscription, according to Buhler should be identified with the Prosthas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[85] Now, that epic mentions this tribe along with a few other tribes including Trigarta, the well known Punjab tribe So it proves that the Prosthas were in all probability their neighbours It is therefore, not surprising to find them mentioned in an inscription of Mathurā of pre-Christian days

It is also significant that Pothayas are mentioned along with the Śakas, who had started playing an important part in the politics of Northern India from a much earlier period The Śakas are mentioned immediately after Gandhāras (Gadara) in the Behistun and Persepolis inscriptions[36] of Darius, the great Achaemenian emperor of Persia who flourished in the last quarter of the 6th century B C They are also mentioned in other inscriptions of the same monarch and the Persepolis inscription of Xerxes[37] It is exceedingly likely, therefore, that by the closing years of the 6th century B C, when Darius flourished, the Śakas were already in India, although politically they came into the limelight only after 100 B C Mathurā, as we will presently see, was under the Śakas from the closing years of the 1st century B C Probably our Gotipu ra was one of those Kṣatriyas of Mathurā who had left no s one unturned to check the Śaka advance into the Ma hurā region Probably for a few years, as the inscription indicates, he successfully fought off the Śaka challenge But before long he had to give in Lüders[38] rejects the translation of Buhler of the expression mentioning Pothayas and Śakas According to him PothayaŚaka is a proper name But he obviously fails to interpret the term *kālavāḷa* Now, such a proper name as PothayaŚaka is exceedingly rare in ancient India and there can absolutely be no basis for such an interpretation The translation given by Buhler is eminently reasonable And if there is any truth in the later Jain tradition, another valiant warrior of the Āryāvarta successfully fought with the Śakas in the middle of the first century B C We are referring to king Vikramāditya, who according to the Indian tradition reigned in the middle of the first century B C[39] In any case, our Gotipu ra is one of those few Indians, who had tried to withstand the advance of foreign tribes into the heart of India, and for his great patriotic zeal he should be remembered by all lovers of Indian history His wife who is called 'Kośikī' also probably belonged to an aristocratic Ksatriya family Both this gentleman and his wife, as this inscription indicates, were devoted worshippers of Tīr hankara Vardhamāna Another inscription, also written in Prakrit, mentions this gentleman and gives his real name as Indrapāla[40]

This inscription contains the expression *arahatapūjāye* which once more proves Gotiputra's leaning towards the Jain religion. It is highly significant that, unlike most of the early Jain devotees, mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions, this person was a Kṣatriya nobleman. Like Khāravela of Kalinga he was a valiant soldier but his martial zeal did not prevent him from falling in love with a religious system which was basically based on the concept of non-violence. Non-violence is not cowardice, and the example of Gotiputra shows that a person believing in non-violence could, for the sake of his mother-land, convert himself into a much sterner stuff. Both the inscriptions mentioning Gotiputra are placed in the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C. by Buhler and Fleet.[41]

We will now discuss some other pre-Kuṣāṇa Jain inscriptions of Mathurā. Majority of such inscriptions are undated, although a few have dates in them. The most important is that inscription which mentions the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Śodāsa[42] and gives us the date 72 which should be referred to the era of 58 B.C. It should therefore correspond to 14 A.D. This Mahākṣatrapa was the son of Mahākṣatrapa Rañjuvula who had apparently conquered Mathurā before the beginning of the Christian era. Gotiputra was probably one of his adversaries. Both Rañjuvula and Śodāsa are mentioned in the well known Mathurā Lion capital Inscriptions[43] and also the Mora well inscription[44] which refers to the Vṛṣṇi heroes. Both father and son had probably equal deference for Brāhmanical Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. The inscription under discussion records, after an invocation of the Arhat Vardhamāna, the setting up of an Āryavatī[45] by Amohinī, the Kochī (=Kautsī), a female lay disciple of the ascetics (*samanasāvikā*) together with her sons Pālaghosa, Poṭhaghosa and Dhanaghosa for the worship of Arhats.

Another interesting early inscription from Mathurā[46] records the setting up of a shrine (*devikula*) of the Arhat, an *āvāgasabhā*, a reservoir (*prapā*) and stone slabs (*silapata*) in the Arhat temple (*Arahatāyatana*) of the Nigathas (Nirgranthas) by a few courtesans (*ganikā*). Regarding the names of the prostitutes there is some confusion. According to Bhagwanlal Indraji at least four of them viz Nādī, Vāsā, Dandā and Lenasobhikā are mentioned

in this inscription But Luders[47] reduces the number to two The interpretation of Bhagwanlal seems more reasonable But what is of much greater interest is that, even women leading immoral life, could be converted to the doctrine of dedication and love by a few zealous ascetics The setting up of so many things proves, that the prostitutes metioned in this inscription, were quite rich However there is nothing surprising to find prostitutes taking an active part in religious affairs Even a superficial acquaintance with the Buddhist canon would show how prominent prostitutes actively helped the Buddha and Sangha One of the best lay disciples of the Buddha was the son of a prostitute We are referring to Jīvaka Komāravaccha, the physician who was a son of a prostitute called Sālāvatī, whose fee per night at Rājagṛha was 100 *kahāpanas*[48] The fee of the courtesan Ambapālī at Vaiśālī was 50 *kahāpanas* per night[49] The great Vasantasenā of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta* and Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* was not only an exceedingly rich lady but also one of the most accomplished persons of Ujjayinī It seems that the *ganikās* mentioned in the inscription under discussion were prominent citizens of Mathurā The reference to *devikula* (*devakula*) proves that this term was used freely to describe any type of shrine Apparently the *devikula* built by these courtesans was a somewhat smaller one because it was built within the enclosure of the Arhat temple (*āyatana*)

Another pre-Kuṣāna inscription[50] found from Kankāli Tīlā records the setting up of a tablet of homage by Śivayaśā, who has been described as the wife of a dancer (*nataka*) called Phaguyaśa This inscription once more shows that persons of queer professions took active interest in the welfare of the Jain Church Another inscription, which has been assigned to the pre-Kuṣāna period by Buhler, is that which refers[51] to Sihanādika, son of the *vānika* Sihaka and Kosikī This Sihanādika according to this inscription set up a tablet of homage (*āyāgapata*) for the worship of Arhats Buhler observes that the epithet *vānika* given to the father of Sihanādika proves that he was a representative of the merchant community His mother, however, belonged to a superior caste which is indicated by the word *Kośikī* In that case, this should be regarded as an instance of *pratiloma* marriage which is generally condemned in

the Smrti texts But the epithet *vānika* given to Sihanādika's father Sihaka does not clearly prove that he belonged to the Vaisya caste There are many cases of persons of superior caste adopting the profession of lower classes We have the classic example of Cārudatta, who was a *sārthavāha* but was at the same time a Brāhmana In the Buddhist canon we have at least fifty cases of a Brāhmana adopting the profession of much lower classes In the *Anguttara Nikāya*[52] we come across a Brāhmana called Sangāvara who was a celebrated mason and built many houses at Vaisālī[53]

The fragmentary inscription[54] recording the dedication by Pūsā, the wife of Puphaka Moga'iputta is also a pre-Kusāna record according to Luders[55] But a more important pre-Kusāna inscription is that which mentions a Jain monk called Jayasena[56] and his female disciple (*āmtevāsinī*) Dharmaghoṣā It further records the gift of a temple (*pāsāda*) by that lady An inscription[57] found from Kankālī Tilā mentions according to Buhler, a Śrāvikā called Lahastinī It records the dedication of an arch (*torana*) Luders,[58] however is of the opinion that *lahastinī* here is not a proper name Another inscription, which appears to be pre-Kusāṇa record, is that which refers[59] to the setting up of a tablet of homage (*āyāgapaṭa*) by one Acalā, the daughter-in-'aw of Bhadrayaśas and wife of Bhadranadi The gift of another *āyāgapaṭa* is recorded in an inscription[60] by a woman who is described as the wife of one Māthuraka (inhabitant of Mathurā)

Before we turn our attention to the Jain inscriptions of the Kusāna period, we must have to take note of the last important pre-Kusāna record that mentions Bhagavat Nemesa[61] There is little doubt and as pointed out Buh'er, the god Nemesa who is sculptured as a goat-headed deity here is Hariṇegamesī of the Jain canonical texts This god, as we learn from the *Kalpasūtra*, transferred the embryo of Mahāvīra from the womb of Devānandā to that of Trisalā The story of the transfer of embryo is almost repeated by the Jain artist of Mathurā[62] The god Harinegamesī is not on'y mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* but also in such works as the *Antagadadasāo*,[63] *Bhagavatī*[64] etc This god is surely identical with Kārttikeya who is also known by the name Naigameya[65] Buhler points out that four muti-

lated statues or statuettes of Mathurā museum refer to the same legend as told in the *Kalpasūtra*[66] Two of these figures are goat-headed males and two are females, each holding an infant in a dish[67] This infant is no other than the Lord Mahāvīra himself

A very good number of Jain inscriptions of the Kuṣāna period found from Mathurā are dated The earliest of such inscriptions is that which is dated in the year 4 corresponding to 82 A D, which falls within the reign of the great Kuṣāna king Kaniṣka It mentions a monk called Puṣyamitra[68] and for the first time in the Jain records of Mathurā, the *gana kula* and *śākhā* of a particular monk are mentioned We have already noticed that these *gana, kula* and *śākhās* originated after Bhadrabāhu, who was in all probability, a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya Not a single among the pre-Kuṣāna inscriptions, which we have noticed so far, contains any reference to them According to the present inscription the monk Puṣyamitra belonged to the Vārana *gana*, the Arya (*Ārya*)—Hālakiya *kula* and the Vajanagarī *śākhā* It was formerly read as Arya-Haṭṭakiya *kula* by Buhler But Luders[69] in 1911 suggested that all the letters read as 'tta' should be read as 'la' Now, according to the *Therāvalī* there is no *gana* of the name of Vārana But the *śākhā* Vajanagarī mentioned here, is included in the *gana* called Cārana There is therefore, little doubt and as suggested long ago by Buhler, 'Cārana' is evidently a mistake for 'Vārana' Now this particular *gana*, according to the same text, originated from Sirigutta (Śrīgupta) of the Hāriya (Hārita) *gotra*, who was one of the disciples of Suhastin, who flourished around 250 B C since he himself was a disciple of Sthūlabhdra, a junior contemporary of Bhadrabāhu This particular *gana* therefore, originated in the latter half of the 3rd century B C, and judging by its occurrence in the Mathurā inscriptions, it was surely one of the most popular *ganas* of the Mathurā region The *kula* Ārya-Hālakiya should be the correct reading for 'Hālijja which according to the *Therāvalī* is a *kula* under Cārana The name of the *śākhā* viz Vajanagarī is exactly the same here as in the *Therāvalī* According to Buhler[70] this particular *śākhā* should be connected with the Vrji country But in the absence of more definite

evidence we cannot accept Buhler's stand It is, however a fact that most of the *śākhās* and *kulas* of the early Śvetāmbara Jains had something to do with geographical units This we have already noticed in the previous chapter

Now, this particular inscription not only mentions the monk Pusyamitra but also his female pupil (*sisnī*) Sathisihā and also her pupil whose name cannot be read There is however a reference to a monk called Sihamitra whose *sadhacarī* (female companion) was this unnamed female disciple of Sathisihā and at whose request an unnamed lady along with two of her male relatives Grahaceta and Granadāsa made a gift of an image

A number of Jain image inscriptions[71] bearing the date of the year 5 of the reign of Kaniska have been found from the Kankālī Tīlā mound The earliest of which is a fragmentary inscription [72] But there is a reference in it to the *gana* called Koliya (which Buhler read as *Kottiya*) It also mentions a preacher (*vācaka*) whose name cannot be read The reference to *vācaka* undoubtedly proves that the Jain canon was already in existence before this date It further indirectly proves that the canon was reduced to writing before the 1st century A D We will afterwards see in connexion with our discussion of the Jain canonical literature that the complete canon came into existence at least before 100 B C The Koliya *gana*, mentioned in this inscription was the most popular *gana* of Mathurā Majority of the inscriptions found from this region mention this particular *gana* Now according to the *Therāvalī* this particular *gana* originated from two monks called Sutthiya (Susthita) and Suppadibuddha (Supratibuddha), who were like Śrīgupta, disciples of Suhastin So there is little doubt that this particular *gana* also originated like Vārana in the latter half of the 3rd century B C

The second inscription[73] bearing the date of the year 5 pointedly mentions Devaputra Kaniska It further records the gift of an image of Vardhamāna by a woman whose name cannot be read Her father's name was Pāla and we are told that she made this gift at the request of Khudā, the female companion (*sadhacarī*) of Sena, the female pupil (*sisnī*) of Sethiniha This particular monk belonged to Koliya *gana*,

Bahmadāsika *kula* and Uccanāgarī *śākhā* Bahmadāsika is evidently the same as Bambhalijja of the *Therāvalī*, mentioned as one of the four *kulas* under Koliya *gana* There is no doubt that 'Bahmadāsika' is the correct term The name of the *śākhā* viz Uccanāgarī is preserved in the *Therāvalī* in exactly the same form This is one of the four *śākhās* under Koliya *gana*, the other *śākhās* also, as we will see later in this chapter, are mentioned in the epigraphs of Mathurā Buhler[74] thinks that Uccanāgarī *śākhā* was named after the fort of Unchanagar, modern town of Bulandshahi This suggestion may be correct, but it remains only a suggestion The two other inscriptions[75] of the same date refer to the same *gana* *kula* and *śākhā* But one of them[76] discloses the names of two monks viz Mihila and his pupil Kseraka These two monks, we will see afterwards, are also mentioned in a few other inscriptions of Mathurā The next inscription[77] is dated in the year 7 and mentions *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* *Sāhi* Kaniska This interesting image inscription mentions the nun Jayā (*Āryā Jayā*), sister of the *vācaka* Sandhika, the *sisya* of the *ganin* Buddhasrī who belonged to the Ārya-Odehikiya (=Ārya Uddehikīya) *gana*, the Nāgabhūtikiya *kula* Now this particular *gana* appears in the *Therāvalī* in an unchanged form The name of the *kula* also appears as Nāgabhūya in the *Therāvalī* where it is mentioned as one of six *kulas* under Uddeha *gana* The same text further informs us that this *gana* originated from Ārya Rohana, one of the disciples of Suhastin Therefore this *gana* also like Koliya and Vārana originated in the 2nd half of the 3rd century B C

One inscription,[78] of the year 9 mentions 'Mahārāja Kaniska' It records the dedication of an image by Vikatā, wife of Bhattimita at the request of *vācaka* Nāganandi out of the Koliya *gana*, Sthāniya *kula*, the Vairī *śākhā* Now, Sthāniya is apparently a Sanskrit term In Prakrit it should be Thāniya which actually appears as *Vāniya* in the *Therāvalī* under Koliya *gana* The name of the *kula* viz Vairī appears unchanged in the *Therāvalī* There is another inscription of the same date (i e the year 9) which was first edited by R D Banerji[79] It was afterwards corrected by Luders[80] This inscription yields the name of the same *gana*, *kula* and *śākhā* as we find in the previous inscription of the same date It records the gift of Grahapalā,

daughter of Grahamitra, daughter-in-law of Avasiri, wife of Kalala, at the request of Ārya Taraka who belonged to the gaṇa etc, mentioned above Another short inscription between the feet of the Jina mentions the female pupil (sisinī) of Ārya Aghama R D Banerji also edited another image inscription[81] of the year 12 which was supposed by him as an image discovered from Ramnagar, the ancient Ahicchatra He evidently relied on the report of Fuhrer[82] who probably discovered this image But Luders[83] is of the opinion that not a single Jina image was ever discovered from the site mentioned in the 'Reports' of Fuhrer The inscription under discussion mentions the Koliya gaṇa, Bambhadāsiya kula and Uccānāgarī śākhā[84] According to R D Banerji a number of carpenters[85] jointly made a gift of an image The person who inspired them to make this gift according to Luders, is Deva[86] the sister of Nāndi, the female pupil of Ārya Pusila Chronologically the next Jain inscription[87] is dated in the year 15 and records the dediction of a fourfold (sarvatobhadrikā) image of Bhagavat by Kumāramitā, wife of Śresthin Veni, mother of Bhattisena at the request of Āryā Vasulā, the female pupil of Āryā Sangamikā, who was the female pupil of Ārya Jayabhūti of the Mehika kula It is of very great interest to note that the same nun viz Āryā Vasulā is mentioned in a Mathurā inscription[88] dated in the year 86 where the monk Jayabhūti and the nun Sangamikā are also mentioned This lady Vasulā therefore, had an unusually long life The kula of the monk Jayabhūti viz Mahika appears as Mehiya in the Therāvalī as a kula belonging to Vesavādiya gaṇa, which according to it, was founded by Kāmiddhī, who also was a disciple of Suhastin Buhler[89] translates the term śreṣṭhin as 'alderman' which will suggest that Veni, the husband of Kumāramitā was a very respectable gentleman of Mathurā Luders,[90] however takes it to mean a 'banker' In any case, in ancient India a 'śresthin'[91] was regarded as an important person and his position was definitely superior to an ordinary merchant or sārthavāha The inscription[92] of the 18 refers to a sarvatobhadrikā image and also mentions the Koliya gaṇa and Vacchaliya kula This particular kula is mentioned in the Therāvalī under Koliya gaṇa as Vacchalijja Another inscription[93] of the same date is more interesting since it yields the name of Aristanemi,

the 22nd Tīrthankara We have already observed, in connexion with our discussion of Tīrthankaras, that the cult of Tīrthankaras originated a century or two after the demise of Mahāvīra We will presently see that quite a few other Tīrthankaras appear in the inscriptions of Mathurā The image inscription[94] of the year 19 is also important since another Tīrthankara viz Śāntināthа is mentioned here The Koliya *gana*, Thāniya *kula* and Verī *śākhā* are also mentioned The 'Verī' here is the same as 'Vairī' The dedication of this image was made at the request of *vācaka* Mātrdina, who was a pupil (*śisya*) of *vācaka* Baladina The *vācaka* Mātrdina also appears in an inscription[95] of the year 22 as we will see soon

We have two inscriptions[96] of the year 20 The first of which records the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by the *śrāvikā* Dinā, daughter of Dātila, wife of Mātila, mother of Jagavāla, Devadīsa, Nāgadina and Nāgadinā at the request of the *vācaka Ārya* Sanghasiha who belonged to Koliya *gana*, the Sthāniya *kula*, the Verī (Vairī) *śākhā* The second inscription[97] of the same date records the dedication by Mitra, the first wife of Haggudeva, daughter-in-law of the ironmonger (*lohavāniya*) Vādhara, daughter of the jeweller (*mānikara*) Khalamitta at the request of the *vācaka* Ārya Sīha, the pupil of the *vācaka* Ārya Datta, who was the companion (*sraddhacara*) of the *ganin* Ārya Pāla, who was the *śisya* (pupil) of Ārya Ogha, who was the pupil of the great preacher (*brhamtavācaka*) whose name begins with Ja and ends with mitra out of the Koliya *gana*, Brahmadāsiya *kula* and Ucenāgarī *śākhā* An undated inscription[98] contains the names of the monks Sīha and the *guru* Datta mentioned in this inscription

There are two inscriptions bearing the date 22 The first of which records[99] the dedication by Dharmasomā, the wife of caravan-leader (*sarttavāhinī*) at the request of the *vācaka* Ārya Mātrdina As we have already noted, this monk is mentioned in an inscription of the year 19 A second inscription[100] of the same date records the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna But its main interest lies in the fact that it refers to the Petavāmika *kula* of the Vārana *gana* In the list of *kulas* under Cārana (i e Vārana) in the *Therāvalī* we have the *kula* called Pīidhammiya There is little doubt that this is the corrupt form

of 'Petavāmika' The inscription[101] of the year 25 records the dedication by Vusu(?), the wife of a dyer (*ravagini*), daughter of Nādi, daughter-in-law of Jabhaka, wife of Jayabhata Two monks are also mentioned viz Sadhi and his preceptor Ārya Balatrata who belonged to the Koliya *gana*, Brahmadāsika *kula* and Ucenāgarī *Śākhā* The monks Ārva Balatrata and his pupil Sadhi are also mentioned in an undated inscription of Mathurā [102]

The inscription[103] of the year 28 is interesting, for it mentions, according to Fleet,[104] Luders[105] and Vogel[106], the king Vāsiska,[107] the successor of Kaniska There are two inscriptions of the year 29 In the first inscription[108] the name of the reigning king is given but it cannot be properly read But he was surely Huviṣka,[109] the successor of Vāsiska It records the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by the married lady (*kuṭumbinī*) Bodhinadī, daughter of Grahahathi at the request of Gahapravika (?), pupil of Ārya Datta, a *ganin* belonging to the Vārana *gana* and Pusyamitriya *kula* This *kula* is mentioned is Pūsamitti under Cārana (i e Vārana) in the *Therāvalī* Another inscription of the same date[110] refers to *Mahārāja devaputra* Hukṣa i e Huviska It also yields the name of a monk called Nagadata (Nāgadatta)

V S Agrawala in 1937 drew our attention to a Jain inscription bearing the date of the year 30,[111] but beyond the date there is nothing more in it The inscription[112] of the year 31 refers to the dedication by Grahasrī, daughter of Buddhi and wife of Devila It refers to a monk called Godāsa who belonged to the Koliya *gana*, Sthāniya *kula* and Verī *śākhā* The interest of the inscription[11] of the year 32 lies in the fact that it refers to an unnamed perfumer (*gandhika*) and the monk Nandika of to the Koliya *gana*, Sthāniya *kula* and Verī *śākhā* More interesting is the inscription[114] of the year 35 that records the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by the perfumer (*gamdhika*) Kumārabhati, son of Kumāramitā, the *sisinī* (female pupil) of Ārya Baladina who belonged to Koliya *gana*, Sthāniya *kula* and Vairā *śākhā* The name of the nun at whose request the gift was made, is given as Kumāramitā It seems that this lady became a nun after leading married life for several years The donor, mentioned in this inscription, was her son who naturally

was anxious to help his mother, who became a nun in her old age It is also tempting to identify this Kumāramitā with her namesake of the inscription of the year 24, described as the wife of *śreṣṭhin* Veni and mother of Bhattisena If we accept this identification, we must regard the donor of the present inscription as another son of this lady A few may suggest that the donor of the inscription under discussion was a natural son of the nun Kumāramitā In that case, we have to believe that Jain monks and nuns of Mathurā led an immoral life But unless and until we get more definite evidence, we are not ready to accept it

The Jain elephant inscription[115] of the year 38 is of great interest It mentions *mahārāja devaputra* Huviṣka and also records the setting up of elephant Namdiviśāla by the *śreṣṭhin* Rudradāsa, son of the *śreṣṭhin* Śivadāsa for the worship of Arhats The reference to Nandiviśāla certainly proves that the donor Rudradāsa, in spite of his deference for Jain monks, was really a Śaiva devotee His name and the name of his father also suggest this inference on our part In the Pāli canonical texts[116] we find references to Nandiviśāla' which certainly meant Śiva's Nandi Luders[117] does not succeed in his attempt to explain the relation of Nandiviśāla with Jainism There is really no need for such an attempt It is enough that the Jain monks of Mathurā allowed Śaiva devotees to build a typically Śaiva object of worship within the compound of their own shrine Some elements of orthodox Hinduism found their way into both Jainism and Buddhism Every dedicated student of the Pāli and Jain literature knows how deeply orthodox Hinduism influenced both these religious systems It is quite likely that a number donors, mentioned in the Jain inscriptions of Mathurā, had equal respect and love for orthodox Hindu deities As a matter of fact, most of such donors never felt that they were doing something for a different religious system They only wanted to do some pious act and to them there was really not much difference between a Jaina *Sādhu* and a Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava ascetic But this question we can discuss elsewhere, for in this type of work there is not much scope for such a discussion

The next Jain inscription[118] is dated in the year 40 although Lüders[119] thinks that the reading '40' is not very clear This inscription records the dedication of an image by a lady, the

wife of *grāmika* (village headman or simply a villager) Jayanāga, mother of Sihadata Two monks are mentioned viz Mahānandin and Dantin (Dati) belonging to the Vārana *gana*, Ārya-Hālakiya *kula and* Vajanagarī *sākhā* The inscription[120] of the year 44 mentions Mahārāja Huviska It records the dedication at the request of Nāgasena, the pupil (*sisa*) of Haginamdi, a *vācaka* belonging to Vārana *gana*, Āryacetiya *kula* and Hāritamālakadhi *sākhā* Both these *kulas* and *sākhās* are mentioned in the *Therāvali* under the Cārana (i e Vārana) *gana* The Jain inscription[121] of the year 45 mentions two persons called Buddhi and Dharmavrddhi Probably the second person was a monk The inscription of the year 47 (Luders No 45) mentions the monk Ohanadi (Oghanandin) and his disciple Sena belonging to the Petivāmika *kula* of the Vārana *gana* Another undated inscription[122] that mentions some *Mahārāja rājātirāja* also refers to these two monks R D Banerji edited an important inscription[123] of the year 48 of the time of Mahārāja Huviska It records the gift an image of Sambhava, the 3rd Tīrthankara by Yaśā, the daughter-in-law of Budhika, granddaughter of Śavatrata, at the request of Dhañaśiri (Dhanyāśrī), the female pupil (*siśini*) of Dhañavala (Dhanyavala) in the Koliya *gana*, the Brahmadāsika *kula*, the Ucenāgarī *śākhā* We have already noticed that a few other Tīrthankaras are also mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions Another inscription[124] of the same year of Mahārāja Huvişka mentions the Brahmadāsiya *kula* and the Ucenāgarī *śākhā*

Probably the most important Jain inscription[125] of Mathurā is that of the year 49 The figure '49' was formerly read as 79 by Buhler,[126] but afterwards Luders[127] read it as 49 It records the dedication of an image of the Arhat Nāndivarta (Nandyāvarta) at the 'Vodva *stūpa* which was built by gods (*devanirmite*) by *srāvikā* Dinā at the request of the monk Vrdhahasti who belonged to the Koliya *gana* and Vairā *śākhā* This monk, as we will see afterwards, is mentioned in an inscription of the year 60 Now, the Jain Tirthankara who has this symbol (Nandyāvarta) is Arhanātha, the 18th Tirthankara But the most important expression of this inscription is the epithet *devanirmita* applied to the 'Vodva' *stūpa* here According to Bühler the expression means 'the *stūpa* built by gods'

He further takes 'Voḍva' to mean 'Buddhist' That there was a *devanirmita stūpa* in Mathurā in proved by the evidence of the Jain literature In both the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* and *Vyavahārabhāṣya* Sanghadāsagani Kṣamāsramana (8th century) has referred to the '*devanirmita*' *stūpa* of Mathurā[128] The great Jain saint Jinabhadragani (6th century) lived in this *stūpa* and had rescued here a mutilated manuscript of *Mahāniśīthasūtra*[129] Bühler argues on the basis of the testimony of the Tibetan historian Tāranātha that pre-Mauryan shrines were known by the term *devanirmita* The Jain texts, mentioned above, record that there was a persistent dispute regarding this particular *stūpa*. The Buddhists, Jains and also the Vaiṣnavas claimed this *stūpa* as their own It is probable that originally it was either a Brāhmanical or a Buddhist shrine but from the days of the Kuṣānas it passed into the hands of the Jains This particular *stūpa* is probably represented by the extensive ruins at Kankālī Ṭīlā and it is also probable that this *stūpa* included Buddhist and Brāhmanical objects of worship

There are a few Jain inscriptions[130] of the year 50 But only one of them is important We are referring to the inscription that records the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by Vijayaśrī, daughter of Bubu, wife of Rājyavasu, mother of Devila, grandmother of Visnubhava It also mentions a nun called Jinadāsī and a monk named Samadi (?) who belonged to the Vārana *gana*, Kaniyasata *kula* and Samkasiyā *śākhā* Among the *kulas* mentioned in the *Therāvalī* this particular *kula* is mentioned as Kanahasaha The Samkasiyā *śākhā* is a'so mentioned in this text under the same *gana* The two other Jain inscriptions with the year 50 are not so important, although one of them mentions *Mahārāja devaputra* Huviska[131]

The inscription[132] of the year 52 records the dedication of an image by the worker in metal (*lohikākāraka*) called Śūra, the son of Śramanaka, at the request of Ārya Deva, the companion (*sadhacara*) of the *ganin* Ārya Mamguhasti, the pupil of Ārya Ghastuhasti of the Koliya *gana*, Verā *śākhā* and Sṭānikiya *kula* The great importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it mentions the monk Mamgūhasti who is prominent'y mentioned in the early Jain literature In the *Nandīsūtra*, (vs 30), a late canonical text of the Jains, probab'y composed

around 350 A D, the name of this monk is conspicious by its presence In the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*,[133] another early Jain text, this monk is mentioned as a resident of Mathurā which fully proves that Ārya Mamguhasti of this inscription is really the monk mentioned as Ārya Mangu in these two texts Incidentally, Mangu is the only monk of early Jain literature to be mentioned in an inscription of Mathurā

The image inscription[134] of the year 54 is also very interesting It records the dedication of an image of Sarasvatī by the worker in metal (*lohikakāruka*) Gova (Gopa), the son of Sīha The monks mentioned in the inscription of the year 52, are also mentioned here with the exception of Mamguhasti, who is replaced by Māghahasti But it is probable that Māghahasti is another name of Mangu But the importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it once more proves the close connexion of Hindu deities with Jainism In our chapter on Jain Iconography we will discuss the importance of this particular icon of Sarasvatī This inscription also has the word *ranga* which proves the popularity of drama in Mathurā The word *ranga*, of course, means an auditorium A much earlier reference to an auditorium will be found in the *Bhagavatī*[135] where we get the word *pecchāghara* The same text also contains the word *rangasthāna*[136] We will afterwards see that in another inscription of Mathurā there is a very clear reference to actors

The next Jain inscription[137] is dated in the year 60 This inscription mentions *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* Huviska It records the dedication of an image of Rsabha at the request of Ārya Kharanna (?), pupil of Ārya Vrddhahasti, who is mentioned in that well known inscription of the year 49 There are two inscriptions[138] of the year 62 and a monk called Karkuhastha and his disciple Grahabala are mentioned in both of them One of these inscriptions[139] contains the significant words *catuvarn samgha* (community of four classes) The next Jain inscription[140] is dated in the year 74 and it was edited by R D Banerji It records the gift of Dharavalā at the request of Arhadāsī, the female pupil of Grahavilā A monk whose name cannot be read but who belonged to the Vārana *gana* and Vajanakāri *śākhā* is also mentioned

We have an interesting inscription[141] of the year 77 which

records the dedication by one Devila at the temple of Dadhikarna (*Dadhikarnadevakulika*) This Dadhikarna is also mentioned in an inscription[142] where he is called *bhagavat Nāgendra* i e the divine lord or serpents This inscription records the dedication of a stone slab (*śilāpaṭṭa*) in the temple (*stāna*) of that god by the sons of actors (*śailālakas*), the Māthuras, who are praised as the Chāndaka brothers, chief of whom was Nandibala This inscription, according to Fuhrer was found near the brick *stūpa* adjoining Jain temples[143]. As pointed out by Buhler[144] Dadhikarna is mentioned as a prominent snake in the *Harivamśa*[145] In the list of Nāgas in the *Abhidhāna-cintāmani*[146] his name occurs We should remember that the real founder of Jainism viz Pārśvanātha had snake as his emblem The temple of Dadhikarna, mentioned here, was probably situated within the Jain temple-complex of Mathurā However, there is no need to regard these two inscriptions as Jain records The reference to actors (*śailālakas*) proves that drama was quite popular in Mathurā in the Kuṣāna period, if not earlier Pānini's *sūtra* '*Pārāsarya-Śilālibhyām bhikṣunatasūtrayoh* (4 3 110) definitely proves that drama in India is least as old as 500 B C[147] But even this problem cannot be discussed here in details It is sufficient to note that even before Asvaghoṣa the art of drama was already in a sophisticated stage in Mathurā

The next inscription[148] is dated in the year 80 and mentions *Mahārāja* Vāsudeva Beyond this there is nothing of much importance in this inscription But the inscription[149] of the year 81 is slightly more interesting since it mentions a woman called Datā, the female pupil (*āntevāsikinī*) of Āryā Jivā The image inscription[150] of the year 83 mentions Mahārāja Vāsudeva and also a woman called Jinadāsī, who is represented as the wife of a perfumer (*gandhika*) We have two important Jain inscriptions of the year 84, the first edited by R D Banerji and second by D R Sahni The first inscription[151] mentions *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Sāhi Vāsudeva* It records the setting up of an image of Rsabha by several women at the request Kumāraka, pupil (*śiṣya*) of Gamikagutta We have already noticed that the earliest Tirthankara Rṣabha appears in an inscription of the year 60 The second inscription[152] of the year 84, edited by D R Sahni, records the gift an image of

Vardhamāna by Okhārikā, the daughter of Damitra and Datā. Two monks Satyasena and Dharavrddhi of the Koliya *gana* are also mentioned A woman called Okharikā is also mentioned in an inscription of the year 299, as we will notice afterwards. For the year 86 we have an inscription[153] which records the dedication by some woman, the daughter of Dasa, the wife of Priya, at the request of Āryā Vasulā, the *śiṣinī* of Sangamikā of the Mehika *kula* As we have already noticed, nuns Vasulā and Sangamikā are mentioned in a much earlier inscription dated in the year 15 Of the two inscriptions[154] of the year 87, the earlier one refers to Mitra, the pupil of Ārya Kumāranandin of the Ucenāgara *śākhā* The second inscription only mentions king Vāsudeva with his full titles The inscription[155] of the year 90 is interesting since it refers to the Prasnavāhanaka *kula* and Majhamā *śākhā* of the Koliya *gana* In the *Therāvalī* both these *kulas* and *śākhās* are mentioned However instead of Majhamā we get Majhimillā The epigraph of the year 93 records[156] the setting up of an image of Vardhamāna by the daughter of *hairanyaka* ('treasurer' according to Buhler) Deva at the request of the *ganin* Nandi

The inscription of the year 98 refers to *rājña Vāsudevasya*[157] and two monks Ksema and Devadatta who belonged to Odehikiya *gana*, the Paridhāsika *kula* and Petaputrikā *śākhā* A certain perfumer (*gandhika*) called Varuna is also mentioned The Paridhāsika *kula* is mentioned as Parihāsaya in the *Therāvalī*. For the *śākhā* called Petaputrikā we have a slightly different form in that text which was certainly due to the copyists' error Another inscription[158] of the same date refers to the Ucenagarī *śākhā* of the Koliya *gana*

The inscription[159] with the year 299 is certainly puzzling, for it is difficult to think of a *mahārāja rājātirāja* ruling in 377 A D in Mathurā, other than a Gupta monarch V S Agrawala,[160] in order to solve this riddle, has suggested that the the year 299 should be referred to an earlier era Now even if we refer to this inscription to the era of 58 B C, we have to find out, who was this great king ruling in the Mathurā region in the middle of the 3rd century A D This particular inscription records the setting up of an image of Mahāvīra in the temple of Arhats A *devakula* is also mentioned in this inscription As

we have already noticed, a woman, called Okhārikā appears in this inscription A woman of this name is mentioned, as already noted, in an inscription of the year 84

We have several important undated Kuṣāna inscriptions bearing on the Jain religion A few of them mention the ruling king but majority of them do not contain any royal name One undated inscription,[161] mentioning Kaniska, was first edited by R L Mitra But it does not contain any information An undated inscription[162] of the time of *devaputra* Huviska also does not help us much However the two inscriptions mentioning the monk Jestahasti of the Koliya *gana*, Brahmadāsika *kula* and Ucenāgarī *śākhā* are of some value One of them[163] records the dedication of an image of Rṣabha by Gulhā, the daughter of Varmā and wife of Jayadāsa, at the request of Āryā Śāmā, the *śisinī* of Ārya Gādhaka, who was a pupil of Ārya Jestahasti The second inscription[164] records the dedication a fourfold image (*savadobhadrikā*) by Sthirā, daughter of Varanahasti and of Devī, daughter-in-law of Jayadeva and and Mosinī wife of Kutha Kasutha, at the request of Ārya Kseraka, pupil of Ārya Mihila who was a pupil of Iestahasti Let us not forget that monks Kseraka and Mihila are mentioned in an inscription of the year 5 So there is little doubt that the monk Jestahasti, who was the teacher of Kṣeraka's teacher flourished in the beginning of the 1st century A D, if not earlier

An undated Jain image inscription[165] of the Kuṣāna period mentions an image of Pārśva It also refers to the *vācaka* Ghoṣaka, pupil of Uggahini of the Sthānikiya *kula* No other inscription of Mathurā refers to this great Tīrthankara and the real founder of Jainism According to Buhler[166] this person Uggahini was probably a female In this case, we will have to accept the fact that in Mathurā in those days, males accepted even females as their *gurus* But Luders,[167] it seems, takes Uggahini as a male Another undated inscription[168] is of some importance since it mentions Kaniyasika *kula* of the Vārana *gana*. This particular *kula*, as we have already noted, is mentioned in an inscription of the year 50, although the reading there is not so clear Another interesting inscription[169] records

the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by Jayā, daughter of Navahasti, daughter-in-law of Grahasena, mother of the brothers Śivasena, Devasena and Śivadeva The monk Ārya Balatrata and his pupil Ārya Sandhi, belonging to the Ucenāgarī *śākhā* are also mentioned These two monks, as we have already seen, are mentioned in an inscription of the year 25

R D Banerji edited an interesting image inscription[170] which mentions a monk of Adhicchatra (i e Ahicchatra) belonging to Petavāmika *kula* and Vajanagarī *śākhā* It was taken by him to be an inscription from Ramnagar, ancient Ahicchatra But Luders[171] is not prepared to believe it In any case, this inscription certainly proves that Ahicchatra was not immune from Jain influence in the Kusāna period

We have a few inscriptions of the post—Kusāna period found from the Mathurā region but we have to take note of them in another chapter As a matter of fact, as V S Agrawala has pointed out,[172] hundreds of Jain sculptures belonging to Gupta and early mediaeval period have been discovered from Mathurā Quite a few of them will have to be considered in our chapter on Jain Iconography

The above analysis of the contents of most of the Mathurā inscriptions of the early period, abundantly proves the tremendous popularity of Jainism from the 2nd century B C onwards We have already observed, on the basis of the evidence of Vimala-sūri s 1st century work the *Paumacariyam*, that Jainism which had suffffered a setback after the Nandas, was revived by some Jain saints, who preached both at Śāketa and Mathurā These inscriptions of Mathurā show that very few among Jain devotees came from the so-called aristocratic families No inscription from Mathurā yields the name of any Brahmin patron of Jainism It is exceedingly likely that members of this particular caste were much more interested in sacrificial cult and diverse theistic religions than in either Buddhism or Jainism Mathurā, we should remember, was a stronghold of the Bhāgavata cult and even in the 2nd century A D, when Jainism had reached a very high level of popularity, this city was known to a foreigner like Ptolemy as a 'city of gods'[173] There is nothing to show that Śaka or Kuṣāna kings themselves, had any particular weakness

for this religion On the other hand, they manifestly show their bias for Hinduism and Buddhism But a few of the Kṣatriyas showed some regard for this religion A few ladies of aristocratic families also had some affection for this religion which was basically based on non-violence But as we have seen in our analysis of the inscriptions, ninety five percent of the admirers were common people Even persons of questionable professions contributed liberally for the welfare of the religion of Pārsva and Mahāvīra We should also particularly take note of the interest shown by the business community for Jainism in Mathurā The canonical and non-canonical texts also abundantly show the weakness of the traders for this religion

What now about the monks and nuns mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions? Quite a good number of monks, belonging to different *ganas* and *kulas* are mentioned in these inscriptions The following *ganas* are directly mentioned in these inscriptions—Koliya, Vārana and Uddehikīya All the *kulas* under Koliya mentioned in the *Therāvalī*, appear in the incriptions They are —Brahmadāsika, Vacchaliya, Thāniya and Pavahaka and so is the case with all the *śākhās* mentioned under this *gana* in that text The only *śākhā* under Koliya, not noticed by us viz Vijjāharī actually appears in a Gupta inscription[174] of Mathurā which we will discuss elsewhere Among the *kulas* under Vārana, the following are mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions—Petivāmika, Puśyamitra, Kaniyasika and possibly Ayyabhista and with the exception of Gavedhūyā all the *sakhas* under this *gana* are referred to in the Mathurā inscriptions A few of the *śakhas* and *kulas* under Uddehikīya are also mentioned in the inscriptions But this *gana* was not so popular as Koḷiya or Vārana Another *kula* viz Mehika which is a *kula* under Vesavādiya in the *Therāvalī*, as we have already noticed, is mentioned twice

In a previous chapter we had observed that *ganas*, *kulas* etc appeared only a century or two after the demise of Mahāvīra In the earlier canonical texts they are very rarely referred to The three words *gana*, *kula* and *sangha* (and not *śākhā*) are mentioned together in the *Bhagavatī*[175] In one place of the *Ācāranga*[176] *gana*, *kula* etc are mentioned If we believe in the

evidence of the *Therāvalī*, *gaṇa*, *kula* etc originated after of Bhadrabāhu. So we should not be incorrect if we say that *gaṇa*, *kula* and *śākhā* etc, became a regular feature of the Jain religion from the beginning of the 3rd century B C And if we believe in the evidence suplied by the *Therāvalī*, most of the *śākhās* originated during the 3rd century B C For the benefit of students of Jain religion we are giving below a list of Jain monks and nuns mentioned in the inscription of Mathurā—

(A) MONKS

	Name	*Gaṇa, Kula and Śākhā*	*Date* (approximate)
1	Māharakhita	— — —	150 B C
2	Jayasena	— - -	25 B C
3	Puṣyamitra	Vāraṇa, Ārya Hālkiya, Vajanagarī	25 A D
4	Sihamitra	-do-	75 A D
5	Sena	Koliya, Brahmadāsika, Uccenāgarī	75 A D
6	Sethiniha	-do-	50 A D
7	Buddhaśrī	Odehikīya Nāgabhūtikiya	50 A D
8	Sandhika	-do-	75 A D
9	Nāganamdi	Koliya, Sthāniya, Vairī	-do-
10	Taraka	-do-	-do-
11	Pusila	Koḷiya, Bambhadāsiya Uccenāgarī	-do-
12	Jeṣṭahasti	-do-	25 A D
13	Mihila	-do-	50 A D
14	Kṣeraka	-do-	75 A D
15	Jayabhūti	Mehika *kula*	25 A D
16	Baladina	Koḷiya, Ṭhāniya, Vairī	75 A D
17	Mātṛdina	-do-	100 A D

	Name	*Gana, Kula and Śākhā*	*Date* (approximate)
18	Sanghasiha	-do-	100 A D
19	Ārya Ogha	Kolıya, Brahmadāsıya Uccnāgarī	25 A D
20	Ārya Pāla	-do-	50 A D
21	Ārya Datta	-do-	75 A D
22	Ārya Sīha	-do-	100 A D
23	Balatrata	-do-	75 A D
24	Sadhı	-do-	100 A D
25	Ārva Datta	Vārana, Pusyamıtrıya	75 A D
26	Gahaprakıva (?)	-do-	100 A D
27	Nāgadatta	- -	-do-
28	Godāsa	Kolıya, Sthānıya, Vaırī	-do-
29	Nandıka	Vārana Sthānıya, Vaırī	-do-
30	Baladına	Koloya, Sthānıya, Vaırī	100 A D
31	Datı	Vārana, Ārya-Hālakıya,	75 A D
32	Mahānandın	-do-	100 A D
33	Hagınamdı	Vārana Āryacetıya, Harıtamālakadhı	75 A D
34	Nāgasena	-do-	100 A D
35	Dharmavrddhı	- -	120 A D
36	Ohanadı	Vārana, Petavāmıka	100 A D
37	Sena	-do-	125 A D
38	Dhañavala	Kolıya, Brahmadāsıka Ucenāgarı	-do-
39	Vrddhahastı	Kolıya, Vaırī, Sthānıkīya	-do-
40	Samadı	Vārana, Ayyabhısta, Samkasıyā	100 A D
41	Hastahastı	Kolıya, Sthānıya, Vairī	75 A D
		-do-	-do-

	Name	*Gana Kula and Śākhā*	*Date* (approximate)
43	Manguhasti	-do-	100 A D
44	Māghahasti	-do-	-do-
45	Deva	-do-	125 A D
46	Ārya Kharanna	Koliya, Sthānikīya Vairī	140 A D
47	Grahabala	—	140 A D
48	Karkuhastha	—	125 A D
49	Gamikagutta	—	140 A D
50	Kumāraka	—	160 A D
51	Satyasena	Koliya	160 A D
52	Dharavṛddhi	-do-	160 A D
53	Kumāranandin	Koliya Uccenāgarī	140 A D
54	Mitra	-do-	160 A D
55	Nandin	—	170 A D
56	Devadata	Odchikīya, Pāndhāsika Petaputrika	170 A D
57	Kṣema	-do-	170 A D
58	Śivadina	—	375 A D (?)
59	Datilācārya	Koliya Vidyādharī	433 A D
60	Nāganandin	—	2nd cent
61	Gādhaka	Koliya, Brahmadāsiya, Uccenāgarī	75 A D
62	Uggahini	Koliya, Sthānikīya	2nd cent
63	Ghosaka	-do-	-do-
64	Gostha	Odchikīya, Nāgabhūtikīya	75 A D

(B) NUNS

1	Dharmaghoṣā	—	25 B C
2	Sathisihā	Vārana, Ārya-Hālakiya, Vajanagarī	75 A D

3	Khudā	Kolya, Brahmadāsika, Ucenāgarī	-do-
4	Jayā	Odehikīya, Nāgabhūtikīya	-do-
5	Devā	Koliya, Brahmadāsika, Ucenāgarī	-do-
6	Sangamikā	Mehika *kula*	-do-
7	Vasulā	-do-	100 A.D
8	Kumāramitrā	Koliya, Sthāniya, Vairī	-do-
9	Dhānaśrī	Koliya Brahmadāsika, Ucenāgarī	120 A D
10	Jinadāsī	Vārana, Ayyabhyista Samkasiyā	125 A.D
11	Akakā	Vārana, Ārya-Hālakiya, Vajanagarī	120 A.D
12	Nandā	do-	-do-
13	Āryā Jīvā	—	150 A.D
14	Āryā Śāmā	Koliya, Brahmadāsika, Ucenāgarī	75 A D

We have been able to identify at least one monk mentioned in the Jain inscriptions of Mathurā It is possible that a few other monks and nuns, mentioned in the inscriptions, appear also in the literary texts In this connexion we should remember that Jain literary texts also refer to the glorious state of Jainism in Mathurā We have already discussed the evidence of the *Paumacariyam* of Vimalasūri According to the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*[177] (circa 350 A.D) the Jain monks had no trouble regarding alms in this city The 8th-century Śvetāmbara commentator Sanghadāsagani at least in two places of his works refer to the great influence, the Jains exercised, in Mathurā As we have alrady noted, he refers to the great *devanirmita stūpa* of Mathurā He also describes the *stūpamaha*[178] festival of this

place in his *Vyavahārabhāṣya* It was in Mathurā that a council to collect and edit the Jain canon under the presidentship of Skandila[179] was held 827 years after the death of Mahāvīra This corresponds roughly to 1st half of the 4th century A D The 14th-century Jain savant Jinaprabha is his monumental work the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* gives us a vidid idea about the glorious condition of the Jain religion in Mathurā According to his testimony, the 6th-century Jain saint Jinabhadragani lived and wrote his commentaries in Mathurā We have already refered to the fact that this great saint had saved the manuscript of the *Mahāniśīthasūtra* from destruction at the *devanirmita stūpa* of Mathurā We will afterwards take note of the evidence of the Digambara literary texts regarding the condition of Jainism in Mathurā Quite a good number of Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jain saints lived and worked in Mathurā Let us remember that even in the days of Hariṣena (931 A D) the author of the *Bṛhatkathākośa*,[180] the city of Mathurā was known as a great centre of the Jain religion The most popular *gana* of Mathurā viz the *Koliya* survived, as observed by Buhler[181] even upto the 14th century A D[182] Even in the days of Jinaprabha (14th century) Mathurā was known as a great Jain *tīrtha*

NOTES

1 Para 156
2 Para 26
3 *Rām*, VII, chs 60 ff
4 *Mbh* XII 339 89 90
5 14 48 ff
6 XVII 19
7 V 38 12
8 See *Mbh* XII 339 89-90
9 II 57 III 255
10 II 256
11 See Malalasekera, *Dict of Pāli Proper Names* Vol II pp 438 99
12 *Loc cit*
13 *Anguttara* I 67f
14 A very early reference to Vṛndāvana will be found in Bhāsa's *Bālacarita* 3rd Act

15 See Prakrit Text Society edition, Vol. II, ch 118. 103

16 See the present author's *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition* (Calcutta, 1974), pp 177f

17 89 2 ff

18 89 42

19 89 43 ff

20 *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini V 3 99

21 See 89 20 ff

22 89 20

23 See ch 89

24 154 157

25 P 204 (Kota, 1939)

26 P 1987 (Sailana edition)

27 Luders *List of Brāhmi Inscriptions* etc, Nos 904-5

28 (Tr L D Barnett), pp 86 ff

29 P 248

30 The earliest reference to *devagṛha* will be found in the *Taittirīya Brāhmana* and to *devakula* in the *Śāṅkhāyana G S* see M M Williams, *S I D* pp 492-93

31 *LI* Vol II p 195

32 *Ibid* XIV (1) see also Luders *op cit* No 93

33 *EI* Vol I p 396 No 33 Luders, No 94

34 *EI* I p 396

35 VI 9 61

36 See Sircar D C *Select Inscriptions* etc pp 3ff, and 6 ff see also Sen S *Old Persian Inscriptions* pp 2-6

37 Sircar *op cit* pp 11ff Sen, *op cit*, pp 148 ff

38 *EI* Vol 24 pp 202 ff, see also his *List* p 169

39 See the summary of the present author's paper entitled 'Was there a pre-Gupta Vikramāditya?' in *Summaries of Papers* 27th All-India Oriental conference pp 199-200

40 See *EI* Vol II XIV No 9 see also Luders No 96

41 *JRAS* 1905 pp 635-655

42 *EI* Vol II p 199, No 2 see also Sircar *op cit*, pp 120-21; and Luders, No 59

43 See Sircar *op cit*, pp 114 ff

44 *Ibid* p 122 see also *EI* Vol 24, p 194

45 *EI* Vol II p 199, No 2

46 See *Actes du sixième Congrès International des Orientalists à Leide* part III, pp 142 ff

47 *IA* Vol 33, pp 152 f, No 30 see also his *List*, No 102

48 *Mahāvagga* (Horner) p 380

49 *Ibid*, p 379

50 *EI*, Vol II, p 200, No 5 Luders, *List*, No 100

51 *EI*, Vol II, p 207, No 30 Luders, *List*, No 105

52 *Anguttara* (tr E M Hare) Vol III, p 171
53 *Loc cit*
54 *I A*, Vol 33, p 151, No 28
55 *Loc cit*
56 Bühler, *E I*, Vol II p 199 No 4, Luders, No 99
57 *E I* Vol I, p 390 No 17 Luders, No 108
58 *I A*, Vol 33, pp 153f
59 *E I* Vol II, p 207, No 32 Luders, No 107
60 *E I* Vol II, p 200 No 8, Luders, No 103
61 *E I* Vol II, p 200, No 6, Luders, No 101
62 See Smith, *Muttra Antiquities* pp 25f, see also Buhler in *E I* Vol II, pp 314 ff
63 P 67
64 P 803
65 See the present author's *The Cult of Skanda-Kārttikeya* etc pp 103 ff
66 *E I* Vol II pp 314 ff
67 See Cunningham, *Reports* etc Vol 20 p 36 plate IV
68 *E I* Vol II p 201, No 11 Luders No 16
69 *J R A S* 1911 p 1085
70 See *E I*, Vol I, pp 373 ff
71 See Luders *List*, Nos 17-20
72 *E I* Vol II, p 201 No 12 Luders, No 17
73 *E I*, Vol I pp 381f No 1 Luders No 18
74 See *E I* Vol I, pp 378ff
75 Luders, Nos, 19-20
76 Cunningham *A S I, Report*, Vol III p 31 see Luders No 20
77 *E I*, Vol I, p. 391, No 19, Luders, No 21
78 See Buhler *Vienna Oriental Journal* Vol I pp 173f No 2, Lüders, *List* No 22
79 *E I*, Vol X, pp 109f, No 3 Luders No 22a
80 *J R A S* 1912, pp 157 f
81 *E I* Vol X pp 110f, No 4 see Lüders No 23a
82 See *N W P and Oudh Provincial Museum Minutes* Vol V p 6 App 6A see *E I*, Vol X, p 111
83 See *J R A S* 1912, pp 153 ff
84 See *E I*, Vol X pp 110f
85 *Loc cit*
86 See No 23a
87 *E I* Vol I, p 382 No 2, Lüders, No 24
88 *E I*, Vol I, p 388, No 12 Lüders, No 70
89 *E I* Vol I, p 382
90 See No 24

91 In the *Mṛcchakatika* the *śreṣṭhin* is eveidently an important person In the Pāli canon also he holds a very high position
92 *EI*, Vol II, p 202, No 13, Luders, No 25
93 *EI* Vol II, p. 202, No 14 Lüders, No 26
94 EI Vol I, pp 382f, No 3, Lüders, No 27
95 *EI* Vol I, p 391, No 20, Lüders, No 31
96 Lüders, Nos, 28-29
97 *EI* Vol I, pp 383f, No 4
98 Lüders, No 123
99 *EI* Vol I, p 395, No 29 Lüders No 30
100 *EI* Vol I, p 391 No 20, Lüders, No 31
101 *EI* Vol I, p 384, No 5, Lüders No 32
102 Luders No 119
103 Luders No 33
104 *JRAS* 1905, p 358
105 Luders *List* p 164 (No 33)
106 *JRAS* 1910, p 1314
107 See Raychaudhuri *PHAI* p 476
108 *EI*, Vol I, p 385 No 6, Luders, No 34
109 See Raychaudhuri *op cit*, pp 476ff
110 *EI* Vol II, p 206, No 26, Lüders No 35
111 *JUPHS* Vol 10, pt 1 pp 1ff No 2
112 *EI* Vol II pp 202f, No 15 Luders No 36
113 *EI*, Vol II, p 203 No 6 Luders No 37
114 *EI*, Vol I p 385, No 7 Luders, No 39
115 See *IA* Vol 33, pp 40f, No 10 Lüders No 41
116 See *Samyutta* Vol I p 87
117 *IA* Vol 33 pp 40f
118 *EI*, Vol I, pp 387f No 11, Luders No 48
119 *IA* Vol 33 pp 103f See *EI* Vol IX, pp 244f
120 *EI* Vol I, p 387, No 9, Lüders No 42
121 *EI* Vol I, p 387 No 10, Luders No 44
122 Luders No 81
123 *EI* Vol X p 112, No 5, Lüders, No 45a
124 *IA* Vol 33 p 103, No 14 Lüders, No 46
125 *EI* Vol II p 204, No 20, Lüders, No 47
126 *EI* II, p 204
127 *EI* Vol IV, pp 244f
128 See *Prakrit Proper Names*, Vol II p 589
129 See *Vividhatirthakalpa*, p 19
130 Lüders Nos 49-51
131 See *IA* Vol 6, p 219 No 11, Lüders, No 51
132 *EI*, Vol 2, pp 203f No 18 Lüders, No 53

133 See *Prakrit Sāhitya kā itihāsa*, p 207
134 *EI*, Vol I, p 391, No 21, Lüders No 54
135 P 1948
136 P 1912
137 *EI*, Vol I, p 386 No 8 Luders No 56
138 Lüders, Nos 57 58
139 See Bühler, *Vienna Oriental Journal* Vol I, pp 172f correction by Lüders *IA*, Vol 33, pp 105f No 19 see his *List* p 166 (correction under No 57)
140 *EI*, Vol X, pp 115f, No 9 Luders No 59a
141 *IA* Vol 33 p 102, No 13 Luders No 63
142 *EI* Vol I p 390 No 18 Luders No 85
143 See *EI* Vol I p 381
144 *Loc cit*
145 II 109 29 (Gitā Press)
146 ' . 1311
147 Pānini cannot be later than the 5th cent B C
148 *EI* Vol I p 392 No 24 see Lüders No 66
149 *EI* Vol II pp 204f, No 21 Lüders No 67
150 *IA* Vol 33? p 107 No 21 Luders No 68
151 *Proc JASB* N S Vol V pp 276f Lüders No 69a
152 *EI* Vol XIX p 67, No 4
153 *EI* Vol I p 388, No 12 Luders No 70
154 Luders Nos 71-72
155 *EI*, Vol II p 205, No 22 Luders No 73
156 *EI* Vol II p 205, No 23 Luders No 74
157 *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol I, pp 177ff, No 8 See also *IA* Vol 33 p 108 No 23 and Luders No 76
158 *EI* Vol II p 205 No 24, Luders No 77
159 See *Vienna Oriental Journal* Vol 10 pp 171f see also *IA*, Vol 37, pp 33f, Lüders No 78
160 *JUPHS* 1950, Vol 10, p 38
161 *JASB*, Vol 39 pt I p 129 No 16 Luders, No 79
162 *EI* Vol II p 206, No 25 Luders No 80
163 *EI*, Vol I, p 389 No 14 Luders No 121
164 *EI* Vol II pp 209f, No 37 Lüders No 122
165 *EI* Vol II p 207 No 29 Luders No 110
166 *EI*, Vol II p 207
167 See his *List* No 110
168 *EI* Vol I, p 392, No 23 Lüders No 113
169 *EI* Vol II, p 208, No 34, Luders, 119
170 *EI*, Vol X, p 120 No 16 Lüders No 107d
171 See *JRAS*, 1912 pp 106 ff
172 See *JUPHS*, 1950, Vol 23, pp 36-71

173 See McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (ed S N Majumdar), p 124

174 *EI*, Vol II, No XIV (39)

175 P 1766

176 P 62 (Jacobi's translation)

177 See *Prakrit sāhitya kā ithāsa*, p 207

178 See *Ibid* p 219

179 See *Nandicūrni*, p 8, see also Haribhadra's Com on *Nandi* pp 17f

180 See 2 1

182 We will afterwards see that this *gaṇa* survived upto the end of the 18th century

CHAPTER VI

Jainism in Orissa

Mahāvīra who originally hailed from Northern Bihar visited, as we have noticed in a previous chapter, a few areas of Western Bengal during his missionary career According to the *Kalpa-sūtra*[1] the Master had spent a year of his missionary career in Paniyabhūmi which was actually included in Lādha or West Bengal The *Ācāranga*,[2] which is certainly a very old text, informs us that Mahāvīra had visited areas of both Western and Southern Bengal Therefore, it is likely that Mahāvīra visited places which were not far from the borders of Orissa A somewhat late text viz the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*[3] records that Mahāvīra more than once had visited Tosalī a prominent city of Orissa The same text informs us that the king of that place had tied Mahāvīra with chords seven times But this particular text was probably composed after 300 A D, and its evidence therefore has little value But it is likely that within a few years of Mahāvīra's demise some of his followers, hailing probably from Southern Bengal carried the message of the Nirgrantha religion to Orissa and succeeded in converting some people of that country In both the canonical texts of the Jains[4] and Buddhists[5] we come across a certain king Karandu (also called Karakaṇḍa, Karakandaka) of Dantapura[6] (which was situated in the Kalinga country) who was a very pious man According to both the Buddhists and Jains this king afterwards became a Pacceka Buddha The Jains[7] also have nothing but deference for this ancient royal sage of Orissa Since this king is mentioned in both the Buddhist and Jain texts he was probably a historical figure According to the Jain commentaries[8] Karakandu was a son of king Dadhivāhana of Campā This Dadhivāhana, acording to the same commentaries[9] was a contemporary of Śatānīka, the father of the celebrated Udayana It

therefore follows that king Karandu-Karakandu was an exact contemporary of the Buddha and Mahāvīra and was universally admired for his pious nature It is exceedingly significent that this particular king of Orissa, who flourished in the 6th century B C, is called a Pacceka Buddha (Ardha Māgadhī *Pattevabuddha*) in the texts of both Buddhists and Jains It is probable that Khāravela was inspired by the deeds of this great monarch of Orissa and tried to follow in his footsteps

We have already observed that Jainism was probably introduced in Orissa by some zealous monks of Bengal during the closing years of the 5th century B C According to the Jain commentaries[10] the king Kākavarna of Pāṭaliputra was arrested in the Istalāga lake of Tosalī by the king of that place But the son of Kākavarna avenged the humiliation of his father by occupying Tosalī and releasing his father It is therefore a historical fact that hostility between Kalinga and Magadha started from about 400 B C [11] the date of Kākavarna, who is also known as Kālāsoka During the days of the Nandas, if we have to believe in the evidence of the famous inscription of Khāravela there was no love lost between Magadha and Kalinga It is quite likely that Kalinga was under the Nanda and early Maurya rulers for a quite long time and probably during the closing years of Bindusāra, the son of Candragupta Maurya, Orissa declared independence And Aśoka eight years after his accession, successfully crushed the rebellion of Kalinga and once more annexed this kingdom The testimony of Aśoka's 13th Rock Edict shows that only after a bloody and terrible battle, which cost thousands of lives, that Kalinga submitted to Aśoka. But there is little doubt that soon after Asoka's death, Orissa declared independence

The Meghavāhana dynasty, to which the great Khāravela belonged, according to the first line of the Hāthigumphā inscription, was a branch of the great Cedī family In this connexion we should remember that according to the *Mahābhārata*[12] the five sons of the great Cedi monarch Uparicara Vasu became kings of five different countries The name of one of the sons was Manivāhana which may be mistake for *Meghavāhana* We have already noticed that one Dadhivāhana was the father

of Karakandu, the celebrated king of Orissa, who reigned in the 6th century B C That kings belonging to the *Cedi* family reigned in the eastern parts of India is also proved by a *śloka* of the *Mahābhārata*,[13] according to which Paundra Vāsudeva, the well known rival of Vāsudeva Krsna and the king of Vanga, Pandra and Kirāta beyonged to that celebrated family It is therefore not at all surprising to find a branch of that great family ruling in another state of eastern India

The Hāthigumhā Inscription[14] opens with an adoration to the Arahats and Siddhas just like any Jain canonical text According to this inscription Khāravela was the third king of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty (*tative Kalingarājavase*) Unfortunately, we do not know the names of the first two kings of this dynasty We are first told that upto his 15th year Khāravela played various games apparently under the loving care of his parents Afterwards for nine years as a *yuvarāja* he received extensive training in the following branches of learning—*lekha rūpa, gananā, vavahāra* and *vidhi* He become *mahārāja* at the age of 24 In the first year of his reign Khāravela was engaged in repairing the buildings and defensive walls of his capital, which were damaged by storm (*vātavihata*) and made arrangements for the erection of the embankments of a *śītala tadāga* (lake) which was probably the principal source of water-supply to the city of Kalinga-nagara He also restored all the gardens of the city We are further told that Khāravela made a total expenditure of 35 hundred thousands (apparently *kārṣāpana*) for the entertainment of his subjects In the 2nd year of his reign, without taking any heed of Śātakarni (*acitayatā Sātakamnim*), he sent a huge army to the western direction consisting of *haya, gaja, nara* and *ratha* (apparently a *caturanga* army) which reached the bank of the river Kanhavennā (i e Krṣnā) and plundered the city of Asika-nagara, which was apparently situated on the river Krsnā The Śātakarni of this inscription has been satisfactorily identified with Śātakarni I of the Śātavāhana dynasty There is, however, no reason to believe that there was an all-out war between the two monarchs It is probable that Asika-nagara was not included in the empire of Śātakarni I but was a town belonging to one of his vassal kingdoms The

relevant words also suggest that Khāravela did not himself lead his army in its march towards the western direction And we are also not in a position to know whether he was able to annex any new territory to his empire In the 3rd year the king engaged himself in cultural activities We are told that he gladdened his subjects by holding popular festivals (*samājas* and *utsavas*) It should be noted here that Khāravela, although a Jain, was shrewd enough to understand the real feeling of his subjects and did nothing to dempen their enthusiasm regarding festivals It is apparent from the relevant words of the inscription (in the 5th line) that the king himself was a great lover of music and was probably acquainted with the literature on *Kāmaśāstra* which specifically speaks of the Arts mentioned in the 5th line of this inscription It should here be noted that unlike Aśoka, he had no affected attitude towards *Samājas*[15] Jainism, like the religion of the Buddha, did not approve of the holding of the *Samāyas*,[16] but this king never wanted to impose his faith forcibly on his people

In the 4th year, once more, Khāravela was engaged in martial activities, but the actual significance of the first few words of the fifth line is not clear as majority of those words are practically lost but it is apparent from the concluding words of this line that Khāravela forced the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas to pay him some sort of tribute[17] The Rathikas and Bhojas are mentioned in 5th and 13th Rock edicts of Aśoka respectively According to the *Mahābhārata*[18] Bhojakata was the capital of Vidarbha This city derived its name from the Bhoja tribe who are even mentioned in the Vedic texts[19] The kingdom of Bhojakaṭa is mentioned in a Vākāṭaka inscription[20] of the 5th century A D The inscription of Khāravela does not suggest that the Bhojakas and Raṭhikas submitted to him after any particular military engagement It is more likely that Khāravala's military stature was enough to extract from such tribes some sort of allegiance The early Sātavāhana inscriptions[21] suggest that Raṭhikas had some friendly relation with the Andhra monarchs In connexion with the achievements of Khāravela's 4th year we get the expression *vijādharādhivāsam* and Sircar believes[22] that Vijādhara or Vidyādhara may be the name of a local ruler But any one

6

who is familiar with the early Jain literature knows that the term 'Vidyādhara' is generally used to mean *rākṣasas* or non-Aryans In the *Paumacariyam* of Vimala, a work of the 1st century A D, the *rākṣasas* of Lankā are constantly called Vidyādharas[23] Therefore, it is more probable that Khāravela in his 4th year carried out some successful raids against a few non-Aryan tribes living in the hilly regions of Orissa In the 5th year, once more, the king was engaged in constructive activities We are told that he brought into the capital the canal (*panādi*) excavated three hundred years ago by a Nanda king The reading *Namdarāja* is absolutely clear and there is little doubt that the Kalinga country was under the Nandas in the 4th century B C This is also suggested by the Purānic evidence according to which Mahāpadma Nanda became a *Samrāj* after his conquest of the entire sub-continent We have already observed that attempts were made by the Magadhan rulers to conquer Orissa even before the rule of the Nandas This passage of this inscription further proves that this Cedi king of Orissa was not only a great conqueror but also a magnanimous and able monarch who did everything for the uplift of the economic condition of his empire We have already noticed that in the first year of his reign he made arrangements for the adequate supply of drinking water to his capital In the 6th year also this king did not undertake any fresh military expedition But we are told that he performed the Rājasūya[24] sacrifice and spent a lot of money on this particular occasion D C Sircar[25] believes that as a Jain, Khāravela could not have performed this sacrifice and therefore he suggests a slightly different reading for that word But we should not forget that the demarcation line between the Hindu and Jain religions was rather thin in those days, and as suggested by a passage of the *Bhagavatī*[26] even Mahāvīra did not hesitate to accept non-vegetarian food The king Khāravela, as we will see elsewhere, is described as having repaired *deva* temples So there is nothing surprising to find an able military conqueror like him performing the Rājasūya sacrifice[27] Regarding his achievements in the 7th year it is not possible to say anything in view of a quite a few missing or damaged words But it seems from the available words that he

did not undertake any military expedition in that year. But in the 8th year the Orissan monarch resolved to carry out some ambitious military expeditions into the heart of Northern and Eastern India. Even here also a few words are missing, but fortunately for us quite a few proper names are preserved. They are Goradhagiri (probably Barabar hills), Rājagaha, Mathurā and Yavana (king). It has rightly been conjectured that with a large army (*mahatā senā*) Khāravela himself first attacked Magadha and plundered Rajgir and Barabar hills. Afterwards, emboldened by his success, he proceeded towards Mathurā which was under an Indo-Greek ruler at that time and succeeded in chastising him. The name of this particular Indo-Greek king has been read as *Dimita* by Jayaswal but who cannot be the king, Demetrios, who ruled in the first half of the 2nd century B.C., at least one hundred years before Khāravela. The passage of this inscription, however, strongly suggests that in the middle of the 1st century B.C., Mathurā was under a later Indo-Greek ruler. The Jain commentaries,[28] tell us about a certain Yavana king of Mathurā who assassinated the Jain monk Daṇḍa in the Jaunāvamka park of this city. It is tempting to suggest that Khāravela wanted to punish this particular Greek king of Mathurā for his persecution of Jain monks of this city. In any case, the expedition of the 8th year was a complete success and evidently enhanced the prestige of this valiant Orissan monarch. We are further told that after this expedition he satisfied the Brāhmaṇas by showering on them lavish presents. In the 9th year this victorious monarch celebrated his military success by building a *pāsāda* (palace) called Mahāvijaya which involved an expenditure of 38 hundred thousand *kārṣāpaṇas*. The significance of the expression *mahāvijayapāsāda* has been missed by scholars who have written on this inscription. The word *mahāvijaya* is used in the *Ācārāṅga*[29] and *Kalpasūtra*[30] in connexion with Mahārīra's descent on the earth. It signifies divine abode in those texts.[31] We are told that Mahāvīra descended on earth from the Mahāvijaya mansion of the heaven. We have little doubt that Khāravela, who was a Jain, was acquainted with the story regarding Mahāvīra's birth as told in the *Ācārāṅga* and *Kalpasūtra*. The expression *mahāvijaya* occurs twice in Khāra-

vela's inscription, the first time as we have noticed as the name of the place built by him at a great cost, and the second time in the concluding line of this inscription as an epithet of this king, which has been translated as 'great conqueror' by Jayaswal and Banerji[32] but which Sircar takes as Khāravela's *viruda*[33] It was considered a sacred word by the early Jains since it was connected with the story of Mahāvīra's birth

In the 10th year also the king undertook some military expeditions towards the North and it in this connexion the word *Bharadhavasa* (i e Bhāratavarṣa) is used But due to the damaged nature of a few other words here, we cannot have a correct idea about his actual military achievements of this year In the 11th year the king was also in a war-like mood The proper name *Pīthumda* is used in this connexion which according to Barua[34] stands for the famous *tīrtha* of Pṛthūdaka near Kurukṣetra and which according to Rājaśekhara was the northernmost boundary of Madhyadesa Bnt Jayaswal and Banerji[35] believe it to be the Pihunda of Ptolemy We are further told in connexion with Khāravela's military exploits of the 11th year that he came in clash with the Tamil states but the reading even in this case is not perfectly clear In the 12th year the monarch was engaged in wars against a few North and East Indian kings The two words *Uttarāpadharājāno* prove that kings of North India came into open conflict with Khāravela We are also told that king Bahasatimita was forced to acknowledge Khāravela's military superiority Formerly scholars used to identify Bahasatimita with Puśyamitra Śuṅga, but there is little doubt that the king should be idenified with the monarch of the same name mentioned in the Pabhosa cave inscription of the time of Udāka[36] King Khāravela also, we are told, set up in his capital the Jina of Kalinga (*Kālinga Jina*) which was taken away from Kalinga by king Nanda The importance of this line of the inscription can hardly be overemphasised It not only shows that the worship of Jain images we prectised in the 4th century B C, but also demonstrates the weakness of the Nanda kings for this religion In our last chapter we discussed a particular verse of the *Paumacariyam* which indirectly proves the popularity of the Jain religion during the Nanda rule We are not in a position

to know the exact name of the Nanda king who carried away the Jina of Kalinga, but it is just possible that the celebrated Mahāpadma Nanda himself was the culprit After defeating the contemporary Magadhan king, who was in all probability, Bahasatimita, our king Khāravela returned in triumph to his capital along with the Kalinga-Jina It has been conjectured by Jayaswal, and Banerji[37] that this particular Jina was Śītalanātha But in the absence of any evidence we cannot accept it. We are further told that Khāravela brought treasures from the Pamdarāja (i e the Pandyan king) Some other constructive activities were also carried out in the same year

After this, it seems, Khāravela did not undertake any more military expedition He directed his energy to religious affairs and as a lay devotee (*Uvāsaga*) he tried to serve the Jain monks The nscription in its concluding portion gives a magnificent tribute to this wonderful royal personality, who, we are told, was not only o devoted Jain, but also the worshipper of other religious seets (*sava-pāsamdapūjaka*) and who also endeavoured his best to rebuild dilapidated *deva* temples The writer of this inscription knows that as a Cedi king, Khāravela is a descendant of the great Uparicara Vasu,[38] who in the inscription is called *rājasi* (*rājarsi*) In the *Mahābhārata*[39] also Uparicara Vasu is called a *rājarṣi* There is reason to believe that the writer of the Hāthigumphā inscription was acquainted with the story of Uparicara Vasu as told in the *Mahābhārata* and the character Khāravela, described here, is strikingly similar to that of Uparicara described in the *Mahābhārata* We should further note that elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata*[40] Uparicara is called a Vaiṣnava and a devoted worshipper of Nārāyana And it is significant that in this inscription[41] Khāravela gets the epithet *Cakadhara* (i e Cakradhara) which is a typical Vaiṣnava expression The Jains, from the earliest times, had great deference for Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa, one of their Tirthankaras viz Ariṣṭanemi is represented as a kinsman of Vāsudeva It is significant that Khāravela openly encouraged the holding of *Utsavas* and *Samājas*; in the *Mahābhārata*[42] Vasu Uparicara is described as the king who founded the *utsava* of the god Indra Probably the *utsava* referred to in the Hāthigumphā inscription was the

well-known Indrotsava first started by Khāravela's celebrated predecessor

The inscription of Khāravela is the first complete historical record of the achievements of a king of ancient India We do not get much idea about Aśoka's real career (beyond his missionary activities) from his inscriptions Other pre-Christian inscriptions are either too brief or too much concerned with some particular religious purpose But this inscription gives us a very lucid and accurate account of this exceedingly interesting monarch The most significant thing about this king is that in spite of being a Jain and apparently a believer in the doctrine of Ahimsā, he was a very successful military conqueror But there is no reference to the killing of any opponent Most of his adversaries were only forced to submit (cf the words *pādau vandāpayati*) We may recall here Asoka's killing of thousands of soldiers of Kalinga in the battlefield, the war between Magadha and Kalinga was resumed in Khāravela's time, this time, however the other side was victorious but apparently the *bhikṣu-rāja* Khāravela did not indulge in any senseless killing He could have paid Magadha back in her own coin, but as a *dharmarāja* and a worthy descendant of Rājarṣi Vasu he treated his opponents with tolerance and justice

It is a matter of great regret that so far we have not been able to come across any reference to this celebrated Jain king in any literary text of the Jains But not all the Jain manuscripts, preserved in the Bhāndārs have been published With the discovery of more texts, probably some new light will be thrown on this problem Another reason why Khāravela was forgotten afterwards is that Jainism steadily lost popularity in Orissa in the post-Christian period

A few other inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves disclose the names of a few Jain devotees[43] No 1346 of Lüders' list belonging to the Mañcapurīgumpha records the establishment of a cave (*lena*) in honour of Arahamta by Khāravela's chief queen (*agamahisī*) who was a daughter of Rājan Lālaka, the great grandson (*popota*)[44] of Hathisiha There is little doubt that Lālaka, although the father-in-law of Khāravela, was a subordinate ally of his son-in-law It is not clear

why instead of mentioning either the father or grandfather of Lālaka, the inscription refers only to his great-grandfather It is probable that Hastisimha, who probably flourished in the middle of the 2nd century B C, was a petty chieftain of Orissa He has not been given any royal title in this inscription But this inscription goes far to prove that Khāravela's chief queen like her husband was a devoted worshipper of Tīrthankaras. The reference to the Jain monks also prove the developed stage of the Jain church in Kalinga Another inscription discloses[45] the name of either a predecessor or successor of Khāravela viz Vakadeva and like the former he is called the king of Kalinga and is represented as belonging to the Megha-vāhana family The inscription shows that he too, was a Jain

A few other inscriptions (Luders list Nos 1348-53) disclose the existence of a few Jain devotees No 1348 yields the name of a prince called Vadhuka who too, was a Jain votary Nos 1349 and 1350 probably represent the gifts of common people But No 1351, according to Luders is the gift of the town-judge Nos 1352 and 1353 are also probably the gifts of important persons Another inscription[46] records the donation of a servant (*pādamūlika*) called Kusuma

These inscriptions abundantly prove the immense popularity of Jainism in Orissa The Mathurā inscriptions do not disclose the names of any royal devotee of this religion But in Orissa the kings themselves probably inspired their subjects to befriend Nirgrantha monks It is also interesting to note that although the Mahāmeghavāhana kings of Orissa claim descent from the celebrated Cedi family, they bear names which are typically non-Sanskritic [47]

We have already observed that the message of the Nirgrantha religion was probably carried to Orissa by the Jain monks of Southern Bengal Probably these monks belonged either to Tāmraliptikā or Kotivarṣiyā *śākhās* mentioned in the *Therāvalī* But the popularity of Jainism in Kalinga during the days of the Nandas shows that even before the birth of the *Śākhās* and *ganas* the Jain religion made some converts in Orissa And

during the rule of the Mahāmeghavāhana kings Jainism became the principal religion of Orissa

Some later sculptures of Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves and few inscriptions[48] of the 10th or 11th century prove that even long after Khāravela the Kumārīparvata (i e Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills) remained a favourite place of pilgrimage for the Jain monks In a later chapter we will discuss the sculptures of the caves of Udagiri and Khandagiri hills

NOTES

1 P 264
2 P 85
3 Vss 501f
4 See *Uttarādhyayana* (S B E, Vol 45), pp 85f
5 See *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*
6 *Loc cit*
7 See *Uttarādhyayana*, pp 85f
8 *Āvacū*, II, pp 204-7, *Uttaracū*, p 178
9 *Āvacū*, I, p 318, *Āva N*, 521
10 *Bṛhatkalpabhāsya*, Vss 3149-50
11 See *PHAI*, pp 221f
12 I, 63 29ff
13 II 14 18
14 See *EI*, Vol. 20, pp 71ff
15 See 1st Rock Edict, line 4
16 See our work entitled *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition*, p 166
17 For these two tribes see *EI*, 20, p. 84
18 II 31. 11 12
19 See *Aitareya Br* VIII. 12 VIII 14 VIII 17
20 See *Sel Ins*, p 445
21 *Ibid*, pp 191, 193
22 *Sel Ins*, p 215, fn 4
23 See our paper entitled 'Vimalasūri's *Paumacariyam* in *JAIH* (Vol 6), pp 105 ff
24 See *EI*, 20, p 84
25 See *Sel Ins*, p 215 fn 8
26 See p 2468
27 The reading *rājasūya* in the original inscription is perfectly clear
28 *Āva cū*, *II*, p 155
29 P 174 (Sailana)
30 P 4 (Cal Univ)

31 See *Pāiasaddamahannavo* (Prakrit text series) p 680
32 *EI*, 20, p 89
33 *Sel Ins*, p 221 fn 2
34 See *IHQ*, pp 261 ff, see also *Sel Ins*, p 217 fn 1
35 See *EI*, 20, p. 72 ff
36 *Sel Ins*, p 96
37 *EI*, 20, p 85
38 The spelling here is *Vasū*
39 L 63 32, 38
40 XII, Chs 335 ff
41 See line 17
42 l 63 17ff
43 See Lüders' *List* Nos 1342-1353
44 See for a different interpretation *A S I A R*, 1922-23, pp 129-30
45 No 1347 of Lüders' *List*, p 222 of *Sel Ins*
46 No 1344 of Lüders' *List*
47 For etymological explanation of the name *Khāravela*, see *Sel Ins*, p 214 foot note
48 See *A.S I A R*, 1922-23, p 130

CHAPTER VII

Jainism in North India
(200 B C to 600 A D)

It is difficult to give a correct account regarding the state of Jain religion in different parts of North India after the M urya period Epigraphic references are few and far between, and we have to depend mainly on the evidence supplied by literary texts, both Jain and non-Jain Archaeology also helps us a great deal and the discoveries of early Jain images enable us to have some idea about the popularity of this religion in particular localities

We have already seen that long before the Kuṣāṇa period, Jainism became popular in Mathurā and Orissa We have also indicated the route taken by the Jain monks of earlier days As we have already said the Jain monks of Bengal were mainly responsible for the early popularity of Jainism in Orissa But beyond a few references to *kulas* and *śākhās*, we do not know practically anything regarding Jainism in Bengal after the demise of Mahāvīra We will have to refer afterwards to the Chinese evidence regarding the popularity of Jainism in Bengal But regarding a few other ancient places of North India, we are slightly more fortunate Archaeological and epigraphic sources give us some idea about the state of Jainism in places like Kausāmbī, Śrāvastī Rājagṛha, Ahicchatra, Takṣasilā, Simhapura and a few places of Western India Thanks to the iconoclastic zeal of the Muslim invaders, very few among the pre-Gupta or even post-Gupta Hindu temples have survived and the early Jain temples have fared no better The Jain literary evidences suggest the existence of Jain temples in almost all principal cities of North India, but all of them have simply vanished in the thin air 'leaving no rack behind'

Kausāmbī like Sāketa was one of the early centres of

Jainism We have already referred, on the basis of the evidence supplied by the *Paumacariyam*, to the temple of Suvratasvāmin at Śāketa That Śāketa was connected with Muni Suvrata is also proved by the evidence of the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*[1] of Jinaprabha We have also opined that the temple of Suvrata at Śāketa was, in all probability, built before 300 B C It is quite natural that the Jains should be eager to build shrines in famous cities connected with Brāhmanical culture and religion We have already said that Jainism itself originated by 800 B C at Vārānasī, one of the greatest cities of ancient India, and during the time of Mahāvīra, became popular at Vaiśālī Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Kausāmbī and a few other towns

An inscription[2] assignable on the palaeographic grounds to the first century B C found at Pabhosa near Kauśāmbī, proves that the Jain monks, living at that famous town, enjoyed royal patronage The two short inscriptions found at Pabhosa, refer to the cave (*lena*) excavated by Āṣādhasena, the king of Adhicchatra (Ahicchatra), who was the maternal uncle of Bahasatimitra or Bṛhaspatimitra This Āṣādhasena[3] seems to be a local ruler of North Pañcāla region and is generally placed in the first century B C According to Fuhrer[4] the inscriptions refer to the Kāsyapīya monks, which may mean monks belonging to the school of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, who was a Kāśyapa Kṣatriya But D C Sircar[5] rejects this reading and opines that the inscriptions refer to the monks of Ahicchatra That Pabhosa cave was sacred to the Jains from the pre-Christian times, is proved by the discovery of Jain images and carvings from there[6] Three standing Jain images, cut in rocks, are also to be found there[7] The Pabhosa cave was visited by Yuan Chwang in the seventh century A D[8] There is little doubt that a number of Jain monks lived in this cave in pre-Christian period and naturally most of them were residents of Kauśāmbi, which is only two miles from that place This city has yielded a number of Jain antiquities of the Kuṣāna period[9] Kauśāmbī, is still looked upon as a holy place by the devout Jains It was the birth-place of Padmaprabha, the sixth Tīrthankara Major R D Basu in 1908 had discovered an inscription[10] of the year 12 of king Śivamitra which mentions three monks Baladāsa,

Śivamitra and Śivapālita R D Banerji believes that this inscription is dated in the Kaniṣka era of 78 A D, and therefore its date corresponds to 90 A D As late as 1834, a small Digambara temple was built at Kosam[11]

We have already seen that Lord Mahāvīra himself was probably responsible for the introduction of the new Nirgrantha religion at Kauśāmbī during the rule of the celebrated king Udayana, probably in the beginning of the 5th century B C The reference to the Kauśāmbikā *śākhā*, which originated in the first half of the third century B C, in the *Therāvalī* also directly proves the early popularity of Jainism in that region

Like Kauśāmbī, the great city of Śrāvastī was associated with Jainism from pretty early times It was believed to be the birth-place of the third Tīrthankara viz Sambhavanātha This city was very intimately associated with the life and activities of both Mahāvīra and Buddha It was at this town that the first Ninhava Jamāli declared himself a *Jina* This city was also a great centre of the Ājīvika religion The *Bhagavatī*[12] gives us the information that it was at this town that Gosāla declared himself a *kevalin* The death of that famous Ājīvika philosopher took place at this town sixteen years before the demise of Mahāvīra Lord Buddha spent the major part of his ascetic-life here at the Jetavana-Vihāra which was built by prince Jeta for the Buddhist community at a very high cost Śrāvastī was the capital of Pasenadi (Prasenajit) of Kosala, a prominent figure in the Pāli texts The Jains however almost completely ignore this royal personality

The *Therāvalī* refers to the Śrāvastikā *śākhā* which originated in the third century B C and this particular Śvetāmbara branch was obviously associated with the city of Śrāvastī We have already seen that this city was looked upon as the birth-place of Sambhava It is interesting to note that one of the mounds of the ruined city is still known as the mound of Sobhnath, which is a vernacular corruption of the original Sambhavanātha A detailed description of the ruined temple has been given by Vogel in his Report[13] The description leaves little room to doubt that the original temple of Sambhavanātha was built a few centuries before the birth of Christ We have to remember

that Śrāvastī was in utter ruins when Fa-hien visited this city in about 400 A D The original temple of Sambhavanātha was probably still there when the Chinese pilgrims came to India The ruined temple has yielded a good number of Jain images including those of Rsabhanātha and Mahāvīra[14] The icons belong to the Śvetāmbara sect and have stylish affiliation with those found from Mathurā[15] The temple of Sambhava at Śrāvastī was rebuilt several times and finally it was destroyed during the reign of Ala-Ud-din as we learn from Jinaprabha[16] That Śrāvastī afterwards became a famous centre of Digambara religion is evident from the *Bṛhatkathākośa*[17] of Harisena, a text composed in 931 A D

Adicchatra or Ahicchatra, the ancient capital of North Pañcāla, was certainly an important seat of early Jain religion The site, represented by modern Ramnagar in Bareilly district, U P, was excavated first by Fuhrer, who unearthed a number of Jain images and other antiquities According to the Śvetāmbara Jain tradition, Ahicchatra was sacred to Pārśvanātha and there was actually a shrine dedicated to this Tīrthankara at this town Śīlānka, who flourished in the second half of the ninth century A D in his *Acārangavrtti*[18] distinctly refers to this shrine Jinaprabha in his *Vividhatīrthakalpa*[19] gives a graphic and beautiful description of the shrine, dedicated to Pārśva Śīlānka informs us that Pārśva was worshipped here as Dharanīnda But according to Jinaprabha[20] the shrine of Dharanīnda was near the original shrine (*mūlacaitya*) of Pārśva Epigraphic evidence at our disposal, fully supports the Jain tradition regarding the existence of a shrine, dedicated to Pārśva, at Ahicchatra A Kuṣāṇa inscription[21], found engraved at the perestal of an image of Neminātha bearing the date 50 (i e 128 A D), refers to the shrine of 'divine Pārśvanātha' Cunningham also discovered an inscribed pillar of the Gupta period which mentions Ācārya Indranandin and also refers to the temple of Pārśva A number of Jain inscriptions of the Kusāna period have also been discovered from this place and at least one of them refers to the city of Ahicchatra[22] The Kuṣāna inscriptions from this city contain the following dates—9, 18, 31, 4 4 and 74 Most of the Jain and Buddhist sculptures from Ahicchatra belong to

the Mathurā school of Art The names of *gana*, *kula* and *śākhā* are usually like those of Mathurā, the most common *gana* being Koṭiya The images discovered here, are generally nude and this led Führer to suppose that they belonged to the Digambara temple of Ahicchatra But it must have to be remembered that even before the emergence of he Digambara sect, some of the Jinas were shown as naked Even on the pedestals of nude Jina figures we have the names of well known Śvetāmbara *śākhās* and *kulas*[23] which proves that they were fashioned before the formal separation of the Digambaras from the original Nirgrantha religion Several nude Mathurā images of Jina refer to some well-known *śākhās* and *kulas* mentioned in the Śvetāmbara *Therāvalī* For reasons, best known to him, Luders doubts the discovery of Jain images from Ahicchatra[24] But the faithful account of Fuhrer regarding the discovery[25] leaves no room to doubt the authenticity of the 'Reports' Further from the list of drawings in the same report made by draftsmen Ghulam Rasul Beg and Sohan Lal, we learn that among the discoveries made, were a four-faced lion pillar from the Jain temple, an *āyāgapaṭa*, a fragment of frieze illustrating the transfer of embryo and some railing pillars[26]

The Jain Kuṣāna inscriptions from Ahicchatra disclose the names of the following lay devotees—Gahapalā the wife of Ekraḍala, the daughter-in-law of Śivasiri and the daughter of Grahamitra, all these persons are mentioned in the inscription of the year 9, corresponding to 87 A D,[27] in the inscription of the year 12 we have Jinadāsī, Rudradeva, Dāttāgālā, Rudra Grahamitra, Kumārasirī, Vamadasi, Hastisenā Grahaśiri, Rudradatā, Jayadāsī and Mitrasirī all of whom were carpenters by caste[28], in the inscription of the year 74 we have[29] Dharavalā and Āryadāsī The names of the following Jain monks also occur in the inscriptions discovered of Ahicchatra viz Tanka[30] in the inscription of the year 9, who belonged to the Koliya *gana*, Sthāniya *kula* and Vairā *śākhā*, Puśila[31] (Koliya, Bambhadāsiya and Ucenagarī) and another unnamed monk[32] belonging to the Vārana *gana* and Vajanagaī *śākhā* The most definite proof of the existence of Jain monks at Ahicchatra is supplied by a Lucknow museum Jain Image inscription[33] that refers to a

monk (whose name cannot be read) belonging to Petivāmika *kula* and Vajanagarī *śākhā*, who is called a native of Ahicchatra (*Adhicchatrikā*) All these evidences go far to prove the popularity of Jainism at Ahicchatra in early days

Another old city viz Kāmpilya was intimately connected with Jainism in pre-Gupta days. This town was correctly identified by Cunningham with Kampil in Farrukhabad district, U P [34] It was according to the *Mahābhārata*[35], the capital of southern Pañcāla The city, as we learn from the canonical texts[36], was visited by both Pārsva and Mahāvīra It was believed to be the birth-place of the thirteenth Tīrthankara Vimala This place is also mentioned in the *Bhagavatī*[37] and *Aupapātika Sūtra*[38] The fourth Ninhava Āsamitta, who flourished 220 years after Mahāvīra's death i e in the 3rd century B C, was associated with this town The *Uttarādhyayana*[39], a very old Jain canonical text, refers to a certain king Sañjaya, who was a Jain devotee This place has yielded a few Jain inscriptions[40]

Sānkāśya mentioned prominently in the *Rāmāyana*[41], as the capital of Kuśadhavaja Janaka, Sītā's paternal uncle, was one of the important towns of pre Buddhist India It was, according to that epic, situated on the bank of the river Iksumatī It is identified by Cunningham[42] with Sankissa in Farrukhabad district of U P This town, it is interesting to take, is mentioned by Pānini[43] Patañjali also refers to it[44] This city was visited by both Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang The *Therāvalī* refers to the Sankāsiyā *śākhā* under Cārana *gana* i e Vārana *gana* established in the third century B C This definitely proves Sānkāśya's early association with the Nirgrantha religion

It appears that the religion of Pārsva and Mahāvīra succeeded in penetrating into North-West and western India at a quite early date We had occasion to refer to the visit of Mahāvīra in Sindhu-Sauvīra, as described in the *Bhagavatī*, in a previous chapter At present, we have definite evidence to show that even in pre-Christian times, Jainism became quite popular with the people of western India A recently discovered inscription[45] from Pala, Poona district, Maharashtra, discloses the existence of a cave which was excavated by a monk (*bhadamta*) called Indraraksita. This inscription has been assigned, on palaeographi-

cal grounds, to the 2nd century B C It begins with the typical Jain expression *namo aramhātānam* We further learn from the same inscription that Indrarakṣita constructed also a reservoir (*podhi*) of water Let us not forget that according to the Jains, the twenty-second Tirthankara Nemināthа or Aristanemi was born in Western India The earliest source that gives a glimpse of his life is the *Nāyādhammakahāo,* which was not improbably composed by 300 B C We have already said that with the exception of Pārsva no other Tirthankara before Mahāvīra, can be called historical figures But the idea of Tirthankara was developed within a century after the demise of Vardhamāna like the idea of the previous Buddhas[46] In making Nemināthа their twenty-second Tirthankara, the Jains have very ingeniously used the contemporary Vaisnava tradition current in Western India regarding the Yādavas and Vāsudeva Krsna

It is extremely significant that the *Therāvali* refers to a *śākhā* called Saurāstriyā (Prakrit Soratthiyā) which originated from Rṣigupta, a disciple of Suhastin, who flourished in the third century B C This definitely proves that Saurāṣṭra had received its first dose of Jainism in the Mauryan period The inscription from Pala, referred to above shows that Jainism became popular in other centres of Western India before the second century B C It is interesting to note that the inscription, in question, does not give us any idea regarding the *gana kula* or *śākhā* of Indrarakṣita and in this respect his position is similar to the monk Māgharaksita of the Mathurā inscription of circa 150 B C But unlike the latter the monk Indrarakṣita himself takes the initiative for constructing a cave Apparently, he did not receive and financial support from his lay disciples

Another small inscription[47] from Girnar, Gujarat bearing the date 58 refers to *Pañcānacandamūrti* The date has been assigned to the Vikrama era of 58 However, we have not been able to examine the palaeography of this inscription, and therefore no conclusion is desirable on the basis of this inscription alone However, since the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and other canonical texts associate Girnar (Ujjimta or Ujjamta) with Ariṣṭanemi, we need not be surprised to come across a 1st-century inscription from this hill The *Kalpasūtra*[48] also associates

Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi with this hill These literary references also prove the early association of Gujarat with Jainism

No early Jain inscription has so far been discovered from North-West India But we have strong reasons to believe that there were quite a few Jain pockets in that part of India The ancient city of Kāpiśī, which was visited by Yuan Chwang in the first half of the seventh century A D, and which has been identified with Opian in Afghanistan by Cunningham[49], had a sizeable Jain population It is clear therefore that Jainism penetrated in this part of North-West India (the original Indian sub-continent which surely included the whole of Afghanistan) in the early centuries of the Christian era

Another old city viz Takṣaśilā was associated with Jainism from early days Sir John Marshall, who first carried out systematic excavations at Taxila, observes "Taxila must have been adorned by a vast number of Jain edifices some of which were no doubt of considerable magnificence"[50] According to Marshall the shrines in blocks F and G in the excavated area of Sirkap were probably Jain The Jain literary tradition[51] associates Taxila with Bāhubali, a son of Ṛṣabha, who was believed to be a Jain *Sādhu* We further learn from the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*[52] and the *Āvasyakacūrnī*[53] that Bāhubali had installed a jewelled *dharma-cakra* at Takṣaśilā The association of Bāhubali with Takṣaśilā is also mentioned in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*[54] of Jinaprabha Since Takṣasilā was one of the greatest cities of ancient India, it is but natural that the Jains should endeavour to extend the sphere of their influence in that city

Simhapura, was another Jain centre from early times This place has been identified by Stein[55] and Cunningham[56] with modern Ketas in the Salt Range (Punjab, Pakistan) It was visited by Yuan Chwang[57] who saw Śvetāmbara Jains there That Chinese pilgrim, however, gives a highly distorted account regarding the religious practices of the Śvetāmbaras Now, according to the canonical texts, Sīhapura (i e Simhapura) was the birthplace of Śreyāmsa, the eleventh Tīrthankara A few Jain scholars identify Sīhapura of the Jain canon with Simhapurī near Banaras But it is more likely that Simhapura of Punjab is identical with Sīhapura of the Jain texts Let us not forget that the

Jains deliberately selected cities af hoary antiquity as the birth-places of those Tīrthankaras who never existed in reality Simhapura was a town of great antiquity as we find it mentioned in connexion with Arjuna's *digvijaya* in the *Mahābhārata*[58] where it appears after the Trigartas, a well-known Punjab tribe That Jainism reached Punjab by the third century B C, is also indirectly proved by the fact that the *Therāvalī* refers to the Audambarikā *śākhā* which originated from Rohana in the 3rd century B C This *śākhā* was evidently linked with the Audambaras, a well known Punjab tribe It is therefore permissible to identify Simhapura of Yuan Chwang and the *Mahābhārata* with Sīhapura of the Jain texts

Stein was successful in discovering a great number of Jain antiquities from Simhapura That scholar is of the opinion that the Jain sculptures of Simhapura are of better execution than those of Ellora and Ankai He further informs us that even at the time of his visit this place was looked upon as sacred by the Jains[59] The *Varāngacarita*[60], a work of the seventh century A D, refers to Simhapura as sacred to Śreyāmsa

Let us once more turn our attention to Western India We have already observed that by the third century B C, Jainism became more or less popular in Gujarat A stone inscription[61] of the second century A D of one of the grandsons of Jayadāman, the Śaka satrap, is definitely a Jain record for it contains the significant word *Kevalajñāna* This inscription was discovered at Junagarh and it also refers to the town of Girinagara i.e Girnar which according to the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and *Kalpasūtra* was associated with Neminātha We have already taken note of the fact that Girnar was looked upon as a sacred hill by the Jains from a much earlier period It has been suggested[62] that the inscription actually refers to the Samādhimarana of the Digambara Jain saint Dharasena the original author of the Digambara canon, who according to the tradition resided at Candraguphā of Girnar whence the inscription was discovered. But this is a pure conjecture and can be dismissed outright In any case, the inscription proves that Jainism was introduced in this area in the early centuries of the Christian era, if not earlier

The Jain antiquities discovered from Dhank and Bawa Pyara caves in Gujarat prove that these places were under the influence of Jainism in the early centuries of the Christian era[63] The image of Ṛṣabha, Śānti and Pārśva from Dhank can easily be recognised The typical Jain symbols from Bawa Pyara caves (Junagarh) are generally assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era[64]

Bhṛgukaccha, one of the oldest ports of India, which is identified with modern Broach in Gujarat, was a popular Jain centre in the early centuries of the christian era The *Āvasyaka-niryukti*[65], which was not improbably composed around 200 A D, refers to the defeat inflicted by a Śvetāmbara Jain monk Jinadeva on the two Buddhist monks *Bhadanta* Mitra and Kunāla at Bhrgukaccha This is also repeated in the *Āvaśyaka-cūrnī*[66] It appears that this famous port was a favourite haunt of monks of different schools At least two Jain Vihāras existed at Bhrgukaccha viz Śakunikāvihāra and Mūlavasati about which we will have something more to say afterwards

Emergence of the Digambara Sect Although the Digambaras claim a hoary antiquity for their religion, it is a fact that no Digambara record before 300 A D has so far been discovered The earliest Śvetāmbara work that refers to the formal separation of the Digambaras from the original Sangha is the *Āvaśvaka-niryukti*[67] (circa 200 A D) According to this work a monk called Śivabhūti who was a disciple of the Śvetāmbara preceptor Kanha founded the Bodiya (i e Digambara) sect at a place called Rahavīrapura 609 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāna The *Uttarādhyavananiryukti* also refers to this schism According to these texts Śivabhūti was the last *Ninhava* It is interesting to note that in the original Śvetāmbara canon[68] only seven *Ninhavas* are mentioned, the last one being Gosthamāhila, who founded his doctrine called Avaddhiya at the town of Daśapura 584 years offer Mahāvīra's death The *Sthānānga* which refers to the seven rebels has no knowledge of the Digambaras and only in the Niryukti texts do we find references to them We are not aware of any Digambara sacred work that could have been composed before the date suggested in the Niryukti texts regarding the formal separation of the two sects The town of

Rahavīrapura, where Śivabhūti lived cannot be properly identified, although it has been suggested that it was near Mathurā[69] The evidence of the Śvetāmbara canon therefore suggests that the Digambaras formally separated only in the second century A D It appears that the Digambaras also indirectly support the tradition recorded in the Śvetāmbara commentaries[70] According to them the original canon was forgotten after Lohācārya who according to them died 565 years after Mahāvīra It is interesting to note that Vimala's *Paumacariyam* shows no acquaintance with the Digambaras and this work was written according to its own testimony 530 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāna

However, the detailed and biased account regarding Śivabhūti given in the Śvetāmbara Cūrnī texts can be dismissed offhand

Now, the name Śivabhūti is not absent in early Digambara works The *Bhāvapāhuda*[71] ascribed to Kundakunda, a work probably written around 300 A D refers to the monk Śivabhūti who is probably no other than the Śivabhūti of the Śvetāmbara commentaries He is also mentioned in Devasena's *Ārādhanāsāra*[72] written in the tenth century A D

There is a Digambara tradition according to which Āryamankhu was one of the original authors of the Digambara canon This gentlemen is placed 683 years after Mahāvīra's death We have already said that Manguhasti is mentioned in the Mathurā inscription of the year 52 corresponding to 130 A D We have further observed that this Manguhasti is to be identified with Mangu of the *Nandīsūtra* The Śvetambara commentaries[73], it is very significant to note, gives an unfavourable picture of this saint We are told that be was born as Yakkha after his death at Mathurā The date given in the inscription, mentioned above, and the date given to Āryamankhu in the Digambara tradition support each other Therefore it is permissible to believe that the second century Jain saint Mangu was one of the founders of the Digambara sect This also indirectly confirms the Śvetāmbara evidence regarding the actual time when the Digambara formally separated Therefore, the birth of the Digambara sect is to be placed around 150 A D

It has to be remembered that Pārsva allowed an under and an upper garment, while Mahāvīra forbade clothing altogether This information we get in such an early text as the *Uttarādhyayana*[74] which was not improbably composed in the 4th century B C It seeems that from early times the Jain monks, according to their individual whims, indulged in both kinds of practices viz wearing cloth or going about naked These two modes of conduct were known as *Jinakalpa* and *Sthavirakalpa* respectively Mahāvīra himself, as we have already noticed, discarded clothing altogether 13 months after he became an ascetic But Pārśvanātha, whom we consider to be the real founder of Jainism, never went about naked The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[75] further informs us that the doctrine of the first and last Tīrthankaras was based on nudity (*ācelakka*), while that of intervening 22 Tīrthankaras allowed both nudity and wearing garments Most of Mahāvīra's close followers naturally went about naked; but it seems that Mahāvīra himself never insisted on the strict observance of nudity The *Āvaśvakacūrṇī*[76] refers to one Municanda who practised *Jinakalpa* and was considered a rebel by Mahāvīra Regarding nudity the *Ācāranga*[77] says if a naked monk thought that he could bear the pricking of grass, cold and heat stinging of flies and mosquitoes or any other painful things he could leave his private parts uncovered, but when the number of articles in a monk's equipment increased and when the monks began staying more and more among the people, then he could cover his private parts with *kaṭibandha* Afterwards the *kaṭibandha* was replaced by *colapaṭṭa* [78]

The evidence of some Mathurā sculptures suggests that even the Śvetāmbaras sometimes represented their Tīrthankaras as nude So we need not be unduly perturbed it we come across nude Jina figures of pre-christian days As a matter of fact, one of the early celebrated Jain teachers, viz Mahāgiri, according to the *Āvaśvakacūrṇī* was an exponent of *Jinakalpa*, i e the doctrine of nudity Suhastin, another great Śvetāmbara monk practised *Sthavirakalpa* The evidence of that work further suggests that *Jinakalpa* continued upto Āryarakṣita [79] It also appears that the Digambaras, who insisted on absolute nudity, continued the tradition of *Jinakalpa* monks and probably

a rebel group under Śivabhūti finally raised the standard of rebellion and formed a new sect in the middle of the 2nd century A.D However, we must confess that the mystery surrounding the birth of the Digambara sect has yet to be solved We will have something more to see on this point in connexion with the discussion of the canonical literature of the Jains We have also no comment to offer on the suggestion that Rathavīrapura (Rahavīrapura) was near Mathurā

(B)

Jainism in the Gupta Period All the available sources indicate that by the beginning of the 4th century A D Jainism became an all-India religion Generally however in North India the Śvetāmbaras were predominant and in the south the Digambaras We will in this section, endeavour to give readers an idea of the condition of the Jain religion in North India in the Gupta period, and in doing so we will have to take the help of available epigraphic and literary sources

Probably the earliest Jain inscriptions of this period come from the celebrated city of Vidiśā We have two Jain image inscriptions both of which are now preserved in the local museum at Vidiśā [80] These inscriptions are not only important for the history of Jainism but also for the political history of the Gupta period Both these inscriptions refer to *Mahārājā dhirāja Rāmagupta* As the title indicates, this Rāmagupta was a paramount sovereign and not merely a local ruler Coins of Rāmagupta are already known [81] In the official Gupta records the name of Rāmagupta is understandably absent The play *Devīcandragupta*[81a] of Viśākhadatta, which is preserved only in fragments, delineates Rāmagupta as the successor of Samudragupta and a weak monarch who did not hesitate to offer his wife to the Śaka king of Ujjayinī His younger brother Candragupta, by a clever stratagem, succeeded in killing the Śaka king [82] Afterwards, we are told, he also killed his brother and married his wife Dhruvadevī The discovery of the Jain inscriptions prove that Rāmagupta is not a product of imagination but the actual successor of Samudragupta We have already referred to his coins and

now these inscriptions engraved on the pedestals of Puṣpadanta and Candraprabha show that he was responsible for the construction of those images of the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras This he did on the advice of Celukṣamana, the son of Golakyāntā and pupil of Ācārya Sarppasena Kṣamana, the grand-pupil of Candra Kṣamācārya-ksamana-Śramana, who was a *pāṇipātrika* i e one who used the hollows of his palms as alms and drinking-bowl The celebrated Śivārya, the author of the *Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā*, as we will see afterwards, calls himself *pāṇidalabhoi*, which probably indicates that like him Candra was a Digambara monk[92a] This inscription, therefore, proves that Rāmagupta had some genuine respect for the Jains Characters of the inscriptions agree closely with that of Allahabad *Praśasti* and we are not aware of the existence of any other *Mahārajādhirāja* Rāmagupta of the 4th century A D

Another inscription[83] found from Udaygiri near Vidisā and dated in the year 106 of the Gupta era corresponding to 426 A D of the reign of Kumāragupta refers to the erection of an image of Pārśva by Śankara, a disciple of Gośarman, who was a disciple of Bhadrācārya of Āryakula The inscriptions of the time of Rāmagupta, Kumāragupta's uncle, as we have already seen, proves the popularity of Jainism in the Vidisā region Śankara, we further learn from the same inscription, was formerly a warrior but afterwards accepted the Jain religion These inscriptions go far to prove that Vidiśā was a stronghold of Jainism and received royal patronage

Literary evidences also prove the popularity of Jainism in the western part of modern Madhya Pradesh The *Vasudevahiṇḍī*[84] a Jain text, based on the missing *Bṛhatkathā*, and probably composed in the 5th century A D, distinctly refers to the temple of Jīyantasvāmin Mahāvīra at Ujjayinī Discovery of a good number of Jain sculptures, belonging to the Gupta period, from different places of Madhya Pradesh also show that Jainism enjoyed some popularity in those places They also indirectly prove the existence of Jain temples in the Gupta period in Madhya Pradesh We have icons from Sira Pahari (near Nachna, Panna district), and also from Panna proper[84A] We will discuss these icons in greater details, in a separate chapter

of the next volume A temple of Jīvamtasvāmin is also referred to in the Jain Commentaries[85] In another Jain text of the 7th century we have a reference to an image of Jīyantasvāmin at Vidiśā Dasapura (modern Mandsor, M P) also was a stronghold of Jainism This is proved by the fact that Ninhava Gosthāmahila[86] established at this town an independent doctrine known as Abaddhiya 584 years after Mahāvīra's death i.e in the 1st century A D Quite a good number of Śvetāmbara monks of the early 1st century A D we are told, were connected with Daśapura[87] Tosaliputta who is mentioned in the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, we are told, stayed at a park called Ucchughara at Daśapura He had the knowledge of Ditthivāya, the 12th Anga text Rakkhiya, his famous disciple, spent his entire life at Dasapura His younger brother Phaggurakkhiya, was also converted by him Both Mahāgiri and Suhatthi visited Vidisā in the early third century B C in order to pay homage to the image of Jīvantasvāmin there[88] This shows that from early times different places of Madhya Pradesh were connected with Jainism It appears that the Śvetāmbara monks belonging to Kauśāmbika *śākhā* were responsible for the propagation of Jainism in Madhya Pradesh Afterwards we will see that in the post-Gupta period also Jainism was quite popular in that state

An inscription[89] from Mathurā dated in the Gupta year 113 corresponding to 433 A D of the reign of *Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* Kumāragupta refers to an apparently prominent Jain monk called Datilācārya, who belonged to the Vidyādharī *śākhā* and Koliya *gana* A disciple of this monk named Sāmādhya built an image (*pratimā*) under the command of the said *guru* The Vidyādharī *śākhā*, referred to here, is mentioned in the *Therāvalī* as Vijjāharī, which was apparently founded in the 3rd century B C This is the only epigraphic reference to this *śākhā* known to us

Another inscription[90] from Mathurā and dated in the year 299 of an unknown era refers to the erection of an image of Mahāvīra and a temple (*devakula*) by Okhā, Sarika and Śivadinā The inscription is in Sanskrit and if it is dated in the Kaniska era, it corresponds to 377 A D , and this was the view

of Buhler But the peculiar Kuṣāna title *rājātirāja* given to the reigning king, whose name is missing, probably indicates that it should be referred to some earlier era

We should take here a brief notice of the two Jain councils held in the fourth century A D, at Mathurā and Valabhī The council at Mathurā was held under the presidentship of Khaṁḍila (Skandila) 827 years (or according to some 840 years) after Mahāvīra's Nirvāna The earliest work that refers to this council is the *Nandīcurnī*[91] composed in the 7th century A D Another council was held almost simultaneously at Valabhī under the presidentship of Nāgārjuna According to commentators the canon compiled in the council of Mathurā was somewhat different from that compiled at Valabhī The earliest Jain council, held at Pātaliputra in the last quarter of the 4th century B C, will be discussed later in this book

The next important Jain inscription belongs to the reign of Skandagupta This inscription[92] has been found from Kahaum in Gorakhpur district, U P It is dated in the year 141 of the Gupta era corresponding to 461 A D of the tranquil (*śānte*) reign of Skandagupta From this inscription we learn that this place was formerly called Kakubha (line 5) We are told of the setting up of 5 images (*pañcendra*) of Tīrthankaras (probably Ādinātha, Śānti, Nemi, Pārsva and Mahāvīra) by a person called Madra who traced his descent from one Somila and who had equal respect for *dvija, guru* and *yati* This inscription appears to be a Digambara record There are traces of Jain shrines near the pillar bearing the inscription[93]

A copper plate inscription[94] of the Gupta year 159 from Paharpur, Bangladesh is one of the most interesting Jain records of the Gupta period The inscription is incidently the earliest Jain record from Bengal It records an endowment for the worship of Arhats to a *Vihāra* in Vaṭagohālī[95] near Paharpur, presided over by the disciples descended from the Nirgrantha *Ācārya* Guhanandin of Kāsī This Guhanandin is further described as belonging to Pañcastūpanikāya The persons who were responsible for the endowment were a Brahmin named Nāthasarman and his wife Rāmī The language of the inscription proves that this Brāhmana pair were zealous devotees of

Guhanandin It is apparent also from the same inscription that this Guhanandin flourished at least a century before the date of this inscription We learn that it was originally founded by *śiṣyas* and *praśiṣyas* of Guhanandin Probably this *vihāra* was built some 50 years before the date of this copper-plate Guhanandin himself probably lived in the last quarter of the 4th century A D at Kāsī In no Jain inscription before this date do we come across a Brāhmana Jain devotee although the canonical texts, as we have already noticed mention quite a few Brahmin converts The Jain Vihāra referred to above, according to the inscription, was situated in the Nāgiratta *mandala* of Pundravardhana *bhukti*

The expression *Pañcastūpanikāya* is to be found in the non-canonical literature of the Digambaras The great Vīrasena, the famous author of the *Dhavalā* and Jinasena the author of the *Ādipurāna* belonged to the Pañcastūpanikāya sect[95a] In Hariṣena's *Bṛhatkathākośa*[96] we have an account of the founding of five *stūpas* (*pañcastūpa*) at Mathurā It is probable that the Digambara monks belonging to the Pañcastūpa sect of Mathurā afterwards sent a few of the members of their sect to different parts of India It is also not unlikely that Vārānasī was the earliest seat of this particular sect In any case we have to regard Pañcastūpanikāya sect as one of the earliest branches of the Digambara school In South Indian inscriptions also we come across Pañcastūpanikāya monks The Paharpur inscription, therefore proves the early popularity of the Digambara religion in Bengal We have already taken note of the fact that Bengal accepted Jainism long before any other state of India, and it appears that in the Gupta period the Digambaras succeeded in extending their sphere of influence in Bengal at the expense of the Śvetāmbaras

An inscription[97] of early Gupta character near Son Bhāndār cave at the ancient town of Rājagṛha refers to a Jain Muni called Vairadeva who is given the epithet *ācāryaratna* The lower half of a small naked Jina image still can be seen cut out of the rock close to the inscription It has been suggested[98] that this Vairadeva is the same as Ārya Vajra of the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*[99]. Sten Konow suggested[100] that the cave referred to in the inscrip-

tion was constructed in the 2nd-3rd century A D The expressions *ācārya* and *muni* probably show that it is a Digambara record and in that case, the suggested identification of Vairadeva with Vajra cannot be accepted Further, the Digambara invariably preferred Sanskrit to Prakrit in all their early records, and this is the case with both Paharpur and Rajgir inscriptions

Another small mutilated inscription[101] on a Neminātha figure in early Gupta script has been found from Rajgir The image is fixed on a small ruined Jain temple at Vaibhāra hill and refers to *Mahārājādhirāja* Candra, who may be either Candragupta I or Candragupta II This image of Neminātha in black basalt is one of the earliest Jina images of the Gupta period

We have already referred to the Gupta inscription[102], noticed by Cunningham, in the ruins of Ahicchatra which mentions *Ācārya* Indranandin This place, as we have already seen, was sacred to the Jains from a much earlier period

The evidence[103] of the *Kuvalayamālā*, composed by Udyotanasūri in 700 Śaka (778 A D) shows that king Toramāna who ruled at the town of Pavvaiyā situated on the bank of the Candrabhāgā (Chenab) in the Uttarāpatha was a disciple of Harigupta Ācārya, born in the Gupta family We are further told that the city could boast of a great number of scholars, apparently Jain *Sādhus* This city cannot be properly identified but it was certainly in Punjab Harigupta, it is interesting to note, is described as a scion of the Gupta family Toramāna is known from inscriptions[104] and coins and definitely ruled around 500 A D His *guru* Harigupta should be placed therefore in the 2nd half of the 5th century A D This Harigupta is further described as the *guru* of *Mahākavi* Devagupta who is apparently mentioned also in the *Mahānisītha*[105] It is interesting to note that quite a few Śvetāmbara *Ācāryas* had Gupta-ending names The *Mahānisītha*[106] refers to one Ravigupta, who should be placed in the 5th century The *guru* of Agastyasimha, the author of the *Daśavaikālikacūrṇi* was Ṛṣigupta[107] who belonged to the Koliya *gaṇa* and Verasāmi *śākhā* and who could not have flourished later than 400 A D [108]

The evidence of the *Kuvalayamālā* therefore proves that a a stern military conqueror like Toramāna had a soft corner for

Jainism and probably like Khāravela he embraced this religion during his old age We have already seen that there were a few Jain pockets in Punjab from early times The capital of Toramāna Pavvaiya, which was situated on the Candrabhāgā was surely a Jain centre in the Gupta period like Simhapura The inscription of Toramāna[109] from Kurā, Salt Range (Punjab, Pakistan) shows that Punjab was within the empire of Toramāna

Jainism, as we have already noticed was firmly established in Gujarat even before the Christian era In the Gupta period, Gujarat undoubtedly was the chief centre of Jainism in India This is indirectly proved by the fact that the Śvetāmbara canon was finally edited at Valabhī 980 or 993 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāna Two commentaries[110] of the *Kalpasūtra* refer to the council at Valabhī and the Digambara work the *Bṛhatkathākośa*[111] (931 A D) also allude to the Valabhī council The council was held according to the Jain commentators[112], during the rule of Dhruvasena of Ānandanagara which has been identified with Vadanagara in Northern Gujarat We have already seen that an earlier council under Nāgārjuna was held at Valabhī in the 4th century A D , which coincided with the Mathurā council

Now Dhruvasena of the Jain commentators should be identified with the first king of that name who according to the inscriptions[113] ruled from at least the year 206 of the Gupta era to 226 of the same era The Jain commentators further inform us that the *Kalpasūtra* was recited in the court of this king on the sad occasion of the demise of his son The Jain account is confirmed by inscriptions according to which the Maitraka-Valabhī ruler Dhruvasena I, like his elder brothers, was succeeded by his younger brother Dharapatta This was evidently due to the fact that Dhruvasena had no son to succeed him after his death The date given by the Jain commentators prove that this Dhruvasena (526 A D to 546 A D) should be placed either 980 or 993 years after Mahāvīra's death which also directly shows that Lord Mahāvīra died only in the 2nd quarter of the 5th century B C , and not earlier, as supposed by many Jain writers But this we would like to discuss in a separate Appendix

There is, however nothing to show that Dhruvasena himself

was inclined towards Jainism Inscriptions[114] prove that he was a devout Vaiṣṇava and not a single king of this illustrious family is known to have befriended the Jains A few royal members of this family are known to have patronised the Buddhists[115], the bitter rivals of the Śvetāmbara Jains But Jainism continued to prosper in Gujarat in spite of the absence of royal patronage An old manuscript of the *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*[116] of Jinabhadragani discovered in the Jaisalmer bhāndār informs us that this work was composed at Valabhī in Śaka 531 (i e 609 A D) during the reign of Śilāditya Now, the inscriptions of this king range between G E 286 and 290 (606 A D to 610 A.D) and, therefore there is no doubt that the date given in the manuscript is absolutely genuine It further shows that Valabhī at that time was a stronghold of Jainism and probably the home-town of this famous Jain scholar King Śilāditya is mentioned by Yuan Chwang[117] as having ruled 60 years before his time Now, the latest known date of Śilāditya's father and predecessor Dharasena II is G E 270 (=590 A D) which shows that Yuan Chwang's '60' should be corrected as '50'

There are other evidences to show that Jainism was in a flourishing condition during the rule of the Maitraka-Valabhī kings The *Kuvalayamālā*[118] (Śaka 700=778 A D) distinctly refers to the fact that the grand-disciple of Devagupta viz Yajñadatta who evidently flourished around 600 A D "adorned the Gurjara-deśa with Jain temples" The language of the colophon of this text directly shows the tremendous popularity of Jainism in both Gujarat and Rajasthan in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D Quite a few Śvetāmbara images[119] have recently been discovered from the ruins of Valabhī which have been assigned to the 6th century A D It has also been suggested[120] that Jinabhadra Vācanācārya mentioned in a 6th-century image-inscription from Akota (Gujarat) is to be identified with Jinabhadragani, the famous Jain scholar, who was probably a native of Valabhī The *Vividhatīrthakalpa*[121] refers to the fact that there was a shrine dedicated to Candraprabha at Valabhī before its destruction by the Muslims in V S 845 (787 A D) [122]

The Digambara text, the Jain *Harivaṁśa,* which was completed in 783 A D at Vardhamāna (Vadavan, Gujarat) gives us the

highly interesting information[123] that the work was commenced in the temple of Pārsva which was built by king Nanna There is no doubt that this Nanna is identical with the king of the same name mentioned as *kaṭaccuri-kulaveśma-pradīpa* in the Mankani Inscription,[124] who definitely ruled in the last quarter of the 6th century A D in this part of Gujarat The Kaṭaccuris and the Kalacuris were mainly Śaivas but the evidence of Digambara Jinasena shows, that at least one of its earlier members had a catholic outlook, so far as religion is concerned It is probable that the temple of Pārśva, built by Nanna was a Digambara shrine and in that case it should be looked upon as the earliest known Digambara temple of Gujarat It should however be remembered that according to the Digambara tradition the earliest canonical authors of this sect were connected with Girinagara.[125] It should further be pointed out that Digambara Divākara of Karnāta country, according to the Śvetāmbaras,[126] was defeated and converted by Vrddhavādī at Bhrgukaccha

Jinasena also refers to another Digambara temple, dedicated to Śāntinātha, at Dostatikā (near Girnar) where he completed his text in the Śaka year 705 This temple, too was probably built a century or two before this date

Rajasthan, as we have already noticed, was connected with Jainism from a much earlier period However we have practically no Jain inscription or any other evidence to prove the connexion of this state with the Jain religion in the Gupta period However, the evidence of the *Kuvalayamālā*[127] shows that Bhinnamāla (Bhinmal) was looked upon as a Jain place of pilgrimage in the 6th century A D It refers to the five temples of Agāsavanā which was also in Rajasthan The Jain monks of Mathurā, who used to visit Gujarat in the early centuries of the Christian era, had to pass through Rajasthan In the post-Gupta period, however, as we will see later, Rajasthan was very intimately connected with the Jain religion

Discovery of Jain images[128] of the Gupta period from a few pockets of U P and Bihar prove its popularity in those places We will discuss these sculptures in a separate chapter of the next volume of this work However, we must refer to the

beautiful Jain metal images of the Gupta period, discovered from Chausa,[129] Bhojpur district, Bihar They are now preserved in the Patna museum[130]

Quite a few places of modern Maharashtra state were connected with Jainism from early times Literary[131] and archaeological [132] evidences show that Tagara, mentioned in the *Periplus*[133] was a popular Jain centre in the early centuries of the Christian era That ancient city is now represented by Ter A few scholars identify Tagara with Terāpura, mentioned in the *Bṛhatkathākosa*,[134] and assert that even in pre-Christian times the place was connected with Jainism The *Vyavahārabhāṣya*,[135] a text of the eighth century, informs us that *Vyavahāra* Dharma was established at Tagara by eight monks

Discovery of Jain images from Ellora, Patur[136] of the Gupta period prove that Jainism was slowly emerging as an important religious sect in Maharashtra in the Gupta period Śūrpāraka,[137] according to the Jain literary tradition, was connected with Jainism Monks like Vajrasena, Samudra and Mangu visited Śūrpāraka

We should refer, in this connexion, to the unique bronze Pārsvanātha,[138] assigned to the 1st century B C and now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay This image reminds us of the celebrated Maurya image of Lohanipur (Bihar)[139] which has been accepted as the earliest Jina image of India According to U P Shah this image of Bombay Museum bears close affinity in style with a terracotta figurine from Mohenjodaro [140] The findspot of this image is not known, but it was surely found from some place of western India, where Jainism was introduced around 300 B C

In a number of pre-Christian and post-Christian non-Jain texts there are frequent references to the Jains Bhāsa,[141] Subandhu[142] and Bāna[143] frequently refer to the Jains It appears from Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*[144] that the Digambara Jains were looked upon as the bitterest rivals of Hindu philosophers This work was in existence in the early Gupta period and is mentioned by Bāna The poet Bāna, had some regards for the Jains as one Jain Vīradeva was a childhood friend of this great writer [145] Therefore, we can assign Vīradeva to

the last quarter of the 6th century A D In the *Kādambarī*[146] Bāna openly praises the Jains for their magnanimity References to the Jains in the *Bhāgavata*,[147] *Brahmānda*[148] etc also indirectly show its popularity in the early Christian period

Varāhamihira (early 6th century) refers to the mode of fashioning of Jina image in his *Brhatsamhitā*[149] The later Pāli works of Ceylon also refer to the Jains

Quite a good of number of Jain writers flourished in this period Pādalipta, the author of the missing *Tarangavatī*, a Prakrit poem, probably composed in the Sātavāthana period,[150] was one of the earliest Jain poets We have already referred to Vimala, who also flourished in the 1st century A D The *Vasudevahindī*[151] is surely a product of these Gupta period Among Jain philosophers of North India of this period we may mention Vrddhavādī, Mallavādi, Jinabhadragani and others We will have something more to say on them in a separate chapter of the present volume

It should here be pointed out, that unlike Buddhism, the Jain religion did not receive any largescale princely patronage in its early career The only exception was Khāravela, who also patronised Brāhmanical Hinduism The Buddhists on the other hand, did everything to befriend princes and potentates However, Jainism appealed directly to the masses and gradually became popular in almost every part of India by the beginning of the Christian period

NOTES

1 Edited, Jinavijaya, p 86
2 *EI*, Vol II, pp 242f , Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* etc , pp 95ff
3 See Raychaudhuri, PHAI, pp 393f
4 *EI*, Vol II, pp 242f
5 *Sel Ins* etc., p 96fn 6
6 See *Allahabad Gazetteer* (ed H R Nevill), p 263 , see also *JRAS*, 1898, pp 516ff
7 See Cunningham *ASI* Vol 21, pp 1-3
8 See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol I, pp 371f
9 *ASIAR*, 1913-14 pp. 262ff , also plates LXX, a, d, e
10 *Loc cit*
11 See Nevill, *Allahabad Gazetteer*, p 153

12 Sailana edition, Vol 5, p 2402

13 *ASIAR*, 1907-8, pp 113ff

14 See *JRAS*, 1908, p 1102 and plate V

15 See Vogel in *ASIAR*, 1907-8 pp 115-16, and also Sir John Marshall in *JRAS*, 1908, pp 1085-1120, see in this connexion *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey (N Circle) for the year ending 1908*, p 34

16 P 70

17 (Ed A N Upadhye), pp 8, 348f

18 P 418 (Āgamodaya Samiti)

19 P 14

20 *Loc cit*

21 See Fuhrer, *Prog Rep of the Epigraphical and Archaeological Branch N W P and Oudh for 1891-92*, p 3

22 See R D Banerji, *EI*, Vol X, p 120, see also Lüders, *List*, No 107d

23 See *EI*, Vol X, pp 109f

24 See *JRAS*, 1912, pp 153 ff

25 See 1891-2 report, pp 3, 5 etc

26 *Ibid*, pp 13-14, see also Smith in *JRAS*, 1903, pp 7 11

27 *EI*, Vol X, p 110

28 *Ibid*, p 111

29 *Ibid*, pp 115f

30 *Ibid*, p 110

31 *Ibid*, p 111

32 *Ibid*, p 116

33 See Lüders, *List*, No 107d

34 *AGI* p 413

35 I 137 73

36 *Nāyā*, 157, *Upā*, 35

37 P 2348

38 (Sailana ed), pp 278ff

39 (*SBE*), p 80

40 *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments* (N Circle), 1918-19, p 4, see also *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol 5, pp 84ff

41 I 70 3

42 *AGI*, pp 424ff

43 IV 2 80

44 Com on I 3 11

45 See *Jaina Śilālekha Saṃgraha (Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha)*, Vol V, p. 3

46 Quite a few of the previous Buddhas are mentioned in the earlier part of the original Pāli canon, they were also known during the days of Aśoka.

47 See *ASI*, Vol 16, p 357

48 P 164

49 *AGI* pp 21 ff, see also S N Majumdar's note in p 671 of the same work

50 *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p 2

51 See Sukthankar's note in *ASIAR*, 1914-15, pp 39 ff

52 Vs 322

53 Vol I, p 180

54 P 27

55 See *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1890, Vol IV, pp 80 ff, and 260 f

56 *AGI*, pp 142 ff, for the criticism of Watters, see *Y C*, Vol I, pp 249 ff

57 *Y C*, Vol I, pp 248 ff

58 II 27 20

59 *Vienna Oriental Journal* pp 80 ff

60 Ed A N Upadhye, 27, 82

61 *EI*, Vol 16, p 241, Lüders, *List*, No 966

62 See Jain, J P, *The Jaina sources of the History of Ancient India*, pp 112 13

63 See Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p 53, pp 166ff, also *JRAS*, 1938, pp 427f, and plates III and IV, see also *NIA*, 1939, p 563

64 Sankalia, *op cit*, pp 166ff

65 VS 1299

66 Vol II, p 201

67 VS 782

68 *Sthānānga*, 587

69 See Muni Kalyānavijaya, *Śramana Bhagawan Mahāvīra*, (Hindi), pp 292ff

70 See *Brhatkathākosa*, 131 69, see also Devasena, *Darśanasāra*

71 VS 53

72 VS 49

73 See *Nis Cū*, Vol II, pp 125 26, *Āva Cū*, Vol II, p 80, also *Niś Bhā*, 3200

74 (Sailana ed) 23 13

75 (Ed Punyavijaya) VI 6369 (p 1681)

76 Vol I, pp 285-286, 291

77 See *SBE*, Vol 22, pp 69-73

78 See *Brhatkalpabhāsya*, Vol III, VS 6964

79 Pp 406ff

80 See *JOI*, Vol XVIII, 1969, pp 247-51, also *EI*, Vol 38, pp. 46-49

81 See *PHAI*, p 553, also *The Classical Age*, pp 17f

82 See also *Harṣacarita* (Chowkhamba), pp 354-55

82A See *Jaina Art and Architecture* (ed A Ghosh) 1974, Vol I, pp 127f

83 See *IA*, Vol XI, p 310, Kielhorn, *List*, No 441

83A Ghosh A, *op cit*, pp 129f, see also *Anekānta* (Hindi), Vol. 15, pp 222-3

84 Part I, p, 61

85 See *Āva Cū*, Vol II, pp 156-7

86 *Sthā*, 587

87 See *Prakrit Proper Names*, Vol I, pp 361-62

88 *Ibid*, Vol II, p 660

89 See *EI*, Vol II, No XIV (39)

90 Lüders, No 78, also *JRAS*, 1896, pp 578f

91 P 8

92 *CII*, Vol III, p 67 *Sel Ins*, pp 316f, Bhandarkar, *List*, No 1278

93 See in this connexion *IHQ*, Vol 28, pp 298-300

94 *EI*, Vol 20 pp 61ff, Sel *Ins*, pp 359ff, Bhandarkar, *List*, No 2037

95 See N Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya aur itihāsa* (Hindi), pp 127ff

96 12 132ff

97 See Guérinot, *List*, No 87, and also *ASIAR*, 1905-6, p 98, fn 1 See in this connexion T Bloch, *A R* of *ASI* (Bengal circle), 1902, p 16.

98 *JBORS*, Vol 39 (1953), pp 410-412

99 VS 769

100 *ASIAR*, 1905-6, p 166

101 *Ibid*, 1925-26, pp 125f

102 *ASI*, Vol I, pp 263ff

103 See colophon of that text edited by A N Upadhye

104 See *Sel Ins*, pp 420ff, see also *EI*, Vol I, pp 239f

105 See Jain, J C, *Prakrit Sāhitya kā itihāsa*, p 147

106 *Loc cit*

107 Colophon, VS 2

108 See Puṇyavijaya's *Introd* Vol 6 of the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra.*

109 *Sel Ins*, pp 422-ff

110 Vinayavijaya, *Kalpasūtravṛtti*, p 206, also the V*ṛtti* on the same text by Dharmasāgara, pp 129-130

111 131 69

112 See Vinayavijaya, *op cit*, pp 1, 9, 201 and Dharmasāgara, *op cit*, 9, 130

113 See Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos 1293 and1308

114 See Bhandarkar, *List*, No 1293

115 The lady Duddā, who was the sister's daughter of Dhruvasena I, was the foundress of a Buddhist convent at Valabhī (see Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No 460) She is mentioned in a large number of Valabhī inscriptions

116 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā Brhad itihāsa*, (Varanasi), Vol III, pp 130ff , see also *Purātana Jaina vākya sūcī*, Introd , p 145

117, Watters, *op cit*, Vol II, p 242

118 Colophon, VSS 7-10

119 See *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum* No 1, p 36 see also Shah, U P , *Studies in Jaina Art pl*, XII See in this connexion *Jaina Art and Architecture* Vol I, p 135

120 See *Lalit Kala* Nos 1 2, p 59 see also *Jaina Art and Architecture* Vol I, p 138

121 P 29

122 This is probably the exact date of the destruction of Valabhi by the Muslims The last known date of Şilāditya VII in whose reign the city was destroyed, is the Gupta year 447 (see Bhandarkar, *List*, No 1375), corresponding to 767 A D Probably he reigned for a few years more and finally was overthrown by the Muslims See also *Al-Bīrūnī s India*, Vol I, p 192 The story told by Al-birūni is similar to that given by Jinabhadra For some other views see *The Classical Age* pp 150f

123 66 53

124 *Imp ins Bar* St I, pp 4ff , see also *The Classical Age*, p 197

125 See *Jaina sāhitya kā brhad itihāsa* Vol IV, p 28 see also Introd to *Satkhandāgama*, Vol I by H L Jain

126 *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p 88

127 Colophon, VS 6

128 See *Jaina Art and Architecture* Vol I, pp 131f , see also p 121

129 *Ibid*, pp 124ff

130 See *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, ed P L Gupta pp 116-17

131 See *Prakrit Proper Names*, Vol I, p 332

132 *ASIAR*, 1902-3, pp 188, 195, 199, 204

133 Edited Schoff, para 51

134 Story No 56 Terāpura, here is however described as situated in the Ābhīra country, see VS No 52

135 P 3 350

136 *Prog Rep of ASI* (W India), 1901 2, p 3 , 1902-3 pp 4 5

137 See *Prakrit Proper Names*, Vol II, pp 863-63

138 *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol I, pp 87f
139 *Ibid*, p 71
140 See *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Vol 3, pp 63-65
141 See *Avimārakam*, 5th Act
142 See *Vāsavadattā* (L H Gray), pp 157, 174 etc
143 *Kādambari* (Chowkhamba), p 160
144 Pp 157, 174 etc
145 See *Harsacarita* (Chowkhamba), p 75
146 P 160
147 V, chs 4ff
148 (Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1973) p 87, see also *Bhavisya*, I 43 36
149 57 45
150 See Jain, *Prakrit sāhitya kā itihāsa*, p 377
151 *Ibid*, p 381

CHAPTER VIII

Jainism in South India

(Early Phase)

Before discussing the state of the Jain religion in different parts of South India we must, at the very outset, refer to an interesting passage[1] in the Buddhist *Mahāvaṃśa,* according to which the king Pāṇḍukābhaya constructed houses and temples for the Nigaṇṭha ascetics at Anurādhapura We are told that this king built, at first, a house for Nigantha Jotiya, which was to the east of the cemetery In that house there lived another Jain ascetic whose name is given as Giri We are furher told that the same king built a temple for another Nigantha *Sādhu* called Kumbhanda From the same chapter[2] of the *Mahāvaṃsa* we learn that Pāndukābhaya also built dwellings for the Ājīvikas and other sects

Now, Pāndukābhaya is generally placed in the fourth century B C by competent authorities including Geiger,[3] and the evidence of this Pāli text proves the presence of Jain ascetics in Ceylon as early as the fourth century B C The *Mahāvaṃśa* is a work of the fifth century A D,[4] and its evidence cannot be easily brushed aside We should also note that in the *Dīpavaṃśa,* which was composed a century earlier,[5] and which Buddhaghoṣa frequently quotes in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu,* there is a reference to the same Nigaṇṭha Giri[6] Thus the combined evidence of these two Pāli texts prove the presence of the Jains in Ceylon in the pre-Mauryan times It is natural, therefore, to suppose that these Jains migrated to Ceylon from Tamil-speaking areas of South India And once we accept this, we have to take it for granted that Jainism was more or less firmly established in the southernmost corners of the peninsula by the 4th century B C

In a previous chapter we endeavoured to show that Jainism

spread to Orissa within a few years of Mahāvīra's death It appears that wandering Nirgrantha monks carried the message of Mahāvīra to Southern India, especially to the lands adjoining Bay of Bengal within a few decades of the demise of Lord Mahāvīra Let us not forget than an ordinary Nirgrantha monk, who seldom cared for personal comfort, and who practically wandered about penniless, was not expected to be daunted by the hazards of a foreign land The evidence of the Pāli texts, referred to above, indirectly shows that Jainism reached the land of the Tamils before the end of the fourth century B C In the earliest extant literature of the Tamils we have enough indications to prove that Jainism was popular in quite early times in the regions south of the Kāverī It should here be emphasised that the Jain monks of Bengal and Orissa were responsible for the early propagation of Jainism in Tamil Nādu and not those of Karnāṭaka, as is usually believed The evidence of the Ceylonese texts and that of the Tamil Sangam poetry indicate that Jainism surely reached the Southern Dravidian areas in the pre-Mauryan period and certainly before its introduction in the modern Karnāṭaka state We have already observed that there is nothing to prove that the first Maurya emperor became a Jain *Sādhu* before his death and consequently the tradition regarding the migration of the Jains under Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta, recorded in the Digambara works, connot be accepted in the present state of our knowledge And even if we accept the veracity of the Digambara tradition, we cannot say that the first group of the Jain *Sādhus* of Tamil Nadu and Kerala came from Karnātaka It appears exceedingly probable, and as will be shown later, that the Digambara Jains of the 2nd century A D from North India popularised Jainism in Karnāṭaka The Jain religion, that we find portrayed in the Sangam poetry, was the undivided Nirgrantha religion, propounded by Pārśva and Mahāvīra

Regarding the chronology of the works of the Sangam period there is a great deal of controversy According to a few scholars[7] these texts were composed after 400 A D But it should be remembered that the original Sangam texts do not apparently show any acquaintance with the Pallavas, who

dominated the political scene of Southern India from the 3rd century A D The absence of the word *dīnāra* in the original Sangam texts is also significant The historical geography, as gleaned from these texts, show that they refer to a period when Southern India had brisk and lively commercial intercourse with the outside world, particularly Rome and Alexandria Lastly, we should refer to the well-known Gajabāhu (Tamil Kayavāgu) synchronism In the *Śilappadikāram*[8], the Sangam epic, we are told, that king of Lankā Gajabāhu was a contemporary of its author, who was Ceral Ilango, the younger brother of the Cera king Senguṭṭuvan Now, in the Ceylonese chronicles we have two Gajabāhus, the first of whom reigned in the 2nd century A D[9] The second Gajabāhu ruled only in the 12th century And there is absolutely no doubt that the Tamil epic refers to the first Gajabāhu as a contemporary of the author of the *Śilappadikāram* Further we are told, that the Pattani worship was introduced in Ceylon from Tamil country during that king's time And we have traces of its worship even now in Ceylon It follows therefore, that the two epics *Śilappadikāram* and *Manimekalai* written by two friends who were contemporaries of Gajabāhu I of Ceylon, are the products of the 2nd half of the 2nd century A D And, therefore, the information contained regarding Jainism in these two works, are referable to that time

But before we discuss the evidence supplied regarding Jainism in these two epics, we must discuss the information contained in the two earlier Sangam texts, viz the *Tolkāppiyam* and *Kural*

The *Tolkāppiyam*[10], a grammatical work of 1612 Sūtras, according to the Jains, was written by some Nirgrantha ascetic during the 2nd Sangam Quite a few scholars have upheld the Jain contention that it was written by a member of that sect in the pre-Christian period[11] It has been pointed out that in the prefatory verse of the text the author calls himself *padimayion* i e one who observes, according to the commentator, the Jain vow known as *padimai*[12] In the section called *Marabiyal*, the *Tolkāppiyam* speaks of *Jīvas* with one sense, such as grass and trees, *Jīvas* with two senses, such as snails, *Jīvas* with three

senses, such as ants, with four senses, such as crab, with five senses, such as higher animals and with six, such as human beings This classification of *Jīvas* abundantly proves[13], that the author was perfectly at home with the traditional Jain classification of *Jīvas* Such classification of *Jīvas* is also to be found in other Tamil Jain works like the *Nīlakeśi* and *Merumandiram*[14] This grammatical text was written before the epics and should be placed between 100 B C and 50 A D[15] And if we accept this date, we have to assume that Jainism was not only in vogue in the Tamil-speaking areas of South India in the 1st century B C, but it was firmly rooted in that country We have already observed, on the evidence supplied by the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa* that Jainism reached the Southern Dravidian states and Ceylon by the 4th century B C We should also refer in this connexion, to another piece of information, supplied by the *Mahāvamsa*[16], according to which, during the reign of the Ceylonese king Vattagāmani (29-17 B C), the Nirgrantha monastery of Anurādhapura was destroyed completely It shows that Jainism, which was introduced in Ceylon, in the pre-Mauryan times, continued its existence there for roughly 300 years before yielding its ground to Buddhism

The celebrated *Kural*[17], another Sangam work, is strongly claimed by the Jains, as a collection of the verses, composed by ancient Jain sages of the Tamil country That this work was in existence before the Tamil epics is evident from the fact that the *Manimekalai*, a poem written just before the *Śilappadikāram*, quotes a verse from it This work is mainly based on the concept of Ahimsā[18] We have to remember that the Jain commentator of the *Nīlakeśi*, freely quotes from the *Kural*, and whenever he quotes, he introduces his quotation with the words 'as is mentioned in our scripture' From this, it is clear, that the commentator considered this work as an important Jain scripture in Tamil[19] Further, we have the evidence of the Tamil *Prabodhacandrodaya* where the Jain ascetic recites a verse from the *Kural* which praises Ahimsā[20] This proves that even to the non-Jain author of the Tamil *Prabodhacandrodaya* the *Kural* was a Jain poem Competent scholars like Kanakasabhai[21] and Chakravarti[22] also believe this poem to be a product of the Jain

imagination However, it should be remembered that the teaching of the *Kural* appealed to all sects, as it was based on some fundamental ethical principles Since the *Manimekalai* quotes a verse from it, we can tentatively place the *Kural* in the 1st century A D, if not earlier

The most important Sangam work from the Jain point of view is undoubtedly the *Silappadikāram*, one of the twin Tamil epics This work, according to its internal testimony[23], was composed by Ceral Ilango, the younger brother of the king Senguttuvan, who as we have already noticed, was a contemporary of the Ceylonese Gajabāhu, who flourished in the 2nd half of the 2nd century A D

From the poet's preface (*padikam*) of that text we learn that this work was composed at Vañji,[24] the capital of the Cera king We are further told that the poet was then residing in the hermitage of Kanavāyil, which the commentator[25] explains as a Jain temple (*palli*) From the same work we learn[26] that an astrologer had predicted that Ilango would succeed his father in the Cera throne Naturally, this prediction was not liked by his his elder brother Senguṭṭuvan and the younger prince, in order to destroy the suspicion of his elder brother, went to the temple of Kunavāyil, which was situated near the eastern gate of Vañji and "standing before eminent saints (*pāṭivor*) he renounced all thoughts of the burden of the earth in order to secure the kingship of the vast realms a far off and eternal bliss, incapable of approach by even the faculty of reason" It appears, therefore, that the author embraced Jainism in his advanced youth and was residing in a Jain temple near Vañji, when he wrote this epic We further learn that he decided to write a poem, based on the life of Kovalan, the father of the heroine of the *Manimekalai*, the Buddhist epic, which was composed by his friend Sittalai Sāttanār

Dikshitar, the English translator of the *Silappadikāram*, refuses to believe[27] that Ilango was a Jain It is true that the poem refers to a number of gods and goddesses like Śiva, Viṣṇu, Murugan, Durgā etc[28] But quite a number of crucial passages of the text harp on the doctrine of Ahiṃsā, and there are lines of the text, which could only be written by devout Jain

and none else The concluding passage of the text abundantly proves that the poet was a dedicated Nirgrantha Muni and a believer in the doctrine of Karman

The *Silappadikāram* gives a very beautiful and useful account of the state of Jainism in the three Dravidian states of Cola, Pāṇḍya and Cera Since this account was written by a poet of the 2nd century A D, its evidence has tremendous value for the students of Tamil Jainism We learn from this work that there were Jain shrines in the capitals of all these three kingdoms At Kāveripattinam, which was the ancient capital of the Colas[29], there was a temple of the Nigrantha[30] (*niggantakoṭṭam*) It is most likely that this Kāveripattinam is the same as Khaberis Emporium mentioned by Ptolemy[31] Apparently the same temple of the Nirgranthas is referred to elsewhere in this work[32] as built of stone We are further told that the lay disciples of the city (*Śrāvakas*) were responsible for the construction of this temple, which was apparently built at a very high cost The high-shining *śilātala* made of *candrakānta* (moonstone) of this temple has also been mentioned in this text[33] In this connexion the poet tells us that a class of Jain asceics, who were known by the name of the Cāranārs used to visit this temple on certain occasions, which included the car-festival[34] Now, we learn from other Jain texts that the car-festival was exceedingly popular among the devout Jains of North India The earliest non-canonical North Indian Jain text that refers to this festival is Vimala's *Paumacariyam*[34a], which describes the *Jina-ratha* festival Decorated Jina images were placed on the chariots, which the devotees used to take out on certain occasions The car-festival was popular among the Buddhists[35] and the Hindus[36] Among the Jains the car-festival was associated with the observance of the elaborate Aṣṭāhnikā festival which was celebrated thrice a year (Āṣāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna)[37] The reference to the car-festival in the *Silappadikāram* shows the general popularity of Jainism among the masses It further proves that, by the 2nd century A D, Jainism became quite deep-rooted in the Cola country

Regarding the Cāranārs, who used to visit the Nirgrantha temple of Kāveripattinam, we have to make here a few

observations So far, it appears, none has been able to explain clearly who were the Cāranārs referred to in this Tamil epic According to the Anga text the *Sthānānga*[38] the Cāranas were one of the nine *ganas* directly under Mahāvīra The *Vyavahāra-sūtra*[39] refers to them as monks with fifteen years' standing The Prakrit Dictionary,[40] compiled by Pandit Hargovind Das explains *cārana* as a group of Jain monks It is tempting to connect these Cāranas with the Cārana *gana*, mentioned in the *Therāvalī*, which originated in the 3rd century B C But it has been shown that, *cārana* there, is a mistake for *vārana*, mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions The *Sthānānga* reference shows that the Cārana monks were in existence even during Mahāvīra's time It would not be a mistake to suppose that the Cāranas were the Jain counterparts of the Brāhmanical Parivrājakas They used to wander all over the country carrying with them the message of Pārśva and Mahāvīra The *Vyavahārasūtra*[41] refers to a particular power possessed by such monks, which it calls by the name of *Cārana-labdhi* It further appears from another Jain text[42] that there was a work called *Cārana-bhāvanā*, which was probably the sacred book of these monks The work is now lost Elsewhere in the Jain Āgamic literature the Cāranas are also mentioned

The *Silappadikāram*[43] delineates the Cāranārs as monks possessing the highest knowledge They had the knowledge of the past, present and future They had put aside attachment and anger There is little doubt that these monks were responsible for the popularity of Jainism in South India, and it was because of their activities that even non-Jains became great admirers of the Jain religion

Our epic also describes the temple of the Nirgranthas at Uraiyur called by the name Kandarapalli[44] The temple was situated in an extensive grove adjoining Arangam (Śrīrangam) and the image of Arivan (probably Ādinātha), described as the first god, under the three umbrellas The connexion of Asoka tree with the Jain temple of this place is also significant This tree was sacred to the Jain Tirthankara Mallinātha and there is a beautiful description of an Asokan grove in the *Aupapātikasūtra*[45]

We should also refer to the residence (*palli*) of the Jain nun Kavundi, which was not far from Kāveripattinam[46] on the northern bank of the Kāveri This lady, we are told, was anxious to visit Madura in order to worship "Arivan by listening to Dharma, preached by the sinless saints, who have by their purity got rid of all their Adharma" This temple of Madura was also built of stone[47] Another Sangam text of great antiquity viz the *Maduraik kanchi*[48] gives a beautiful and graphic description of the big Nirgrantha temple of Madura It runs thus "Nirgranthas crowd the cloisters of the monks of their saints, the walls of which are exceedingly high, and painted red, and are surrounded by pretty, little flower-gardens" This shows that this particular Jain temple of the great city of Madura was built at a very high cost and was obviously a remarkable shrine of that ancient city

We have already referred to the Nirgrantha shrine of Vañji, which was near the eastern gate of that city and which was the residence of the author of this text This shows that Jainism was not only popular in the Cola and Pāndya kingdoms, but also Kerala Vañji has been identified with a place not far from the present Cochin and it was like Madura and Kāveri-pattinam a very ancient city

The *Silappadikāram* also throws welcome light on the Jain nuns of South India of those days Among the equipments of Kavundi, [49] mention is made of begging bowl and peacock-feathers, which are still used by the Jain nuns everywhere This shows that the life led by the nuns was not much different from that of the present day Kavundi's hunger for knowledge and respect for the Cāranārs mark her as a remarkably august personality Her affection for the heroine (Kannaki) makes her a character of flesh and blood

This epic refers to the five types of Jain monks[50] viz Arhat, Siddha, Ācārya, Upādhyāya and Sādhu Arivan is described as the 'bestower of Anga'[51] which implies that the Jain literature was perfectly well-known at that time in South India

We have tried to give readers some idea regarding the condition of the Jain religion in S India as revealed in this celebrated Tamil epic However, it should not be supposed that the poet,

being a Jain, has given only a picture of his religion in this work. He has equal respect for all religious sects and his descriptions of gods and goddesses including Viṣṇu,[62] Durgā[53] are equally attractive His acquaintance with the theistic Hinduism[54] and Vedic Brāhmanism are also deep and intimate Let us not forget that the author, being a prince, was taught almost every branch of learning in his youth, before he became a Nirgrantha ascetic This is the reason why he has been able to display such amazing knowledge regarding other sects in this immensely readable epic He also knows the Ājīvikas[55] But, again and again, he returns to his favourite theme viz the glorification of the philisophy of *karman*[56] and non- injury[57] The hero Kovalan,[58] it appears, led the life of a pious Jain *Śrāvaka*, avoiding meat-eating and taking food in the day-time

From the Buddhist epic *Manimekalai*[59] written by Sattanar in the 2nd century A D, we also get some information about the Jains in South India Since it is a poem, written by an oponent of Jainism, it is but natural that the Jains will be unfavourably painted here In the 1st canto we find a drunkard ridiculing a Nirgrantha ascetic with these words—"welcome, thou reverend sir, I worship thy feet Pray listen to me The soul which dwells in thy unclean body pines like a prisoner confined in a close cell Drink, therefore, of this toddy, which is drawn by the spathe of the cocoanut palm, and which will give pleasure both in this world and see if my words are true"[60] We will afterwards see that in the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* also the Jains are ridiculed for their uncleanliness However, elsewhere in the *Manimekalai*,[61] it appears, the poet has tried to give a correct account of the Jain philosophy Since the passage is extremely interesting, we are quoting it in full "He (Nigenṭa) said that his god is worshipped by Indras and that the Book revealed by him describes the following the wheel of Law, the axle of Law, Time, Ether, Eternal atom, good deeds, bad deeds, the bonds created by these deeds and the way to obtain release from these bonds Things by their own nature or by the nature of other objects to which are they are attached are temporary or everlasting Within the short period of *kṣana* (second) they may pass through the three unavoidable stages, appearance, existence

and dissolution That a margosa tree sprouts and grows is eternal that it does not posseses that property is temporary Green gram when made into a sweetmeat with other ingredients does not lose its nature, but loses its form The wheel of Law (*Dharma*) pervades everywhere and moves all things in order and for ever In the same way the axle of law retains everything (and prevents dissolution) Time may be divided into seconds or extend to Eons Ether expands and gives room for everything The soul entering a body will through the five senses, taste, smell, touch, hear and see An atom may become a body or assume other forms To stop the origin of good or evil deeds, and to enjoy the effect of past deeds, and to cut off all bonds of release (is salvation)"

The above summary of the Jain philosophy given in this 2nd-century Buddhist Tamil poem reminds us of the similar account given in the *Dīgha Nikāya*[62] A similar account is given about the philosophy of the Ājīvikas[63] However a far more intimate and affectionate picture of the Arhat or Tīrthankara is given in the *Śilappadikāram*,[64] which is reproduced here in full · "The All-knowing, the incarnation of Dharma He who has transcended all limit of understanding, All-Merciful, victor among victors, the accomplisher, the adorable one, the origin of dharma, the overlord, absolute righteousness, the essence, the holy one, the ancient one, the all-wise, the vanquisher of wrath, the master, the Śiva-gati, supreme leader, the exalted one, the possessor of all virtues, the transcendental light, the great truth, the all-god, the supernatural sage (*Cāranar*), the root cause of all, the master of mysterious powers (*siddan*), the paramount one, the infinitely radiant illumination, the dweller in everything, the *guru*, the embodiment of nature, our great god, the abode of never-diminishing eminence, the emperor of virtues, the Śankaran, the Caturmukha, the Īśan, the Svayambhū, the bestower of Angas, the Arhat, the ascetic of grace, the one-god, the master of eight attributes, the indivisible eternal substance, the dweller in the heaven, the foremost of the Vedas, and the shining light that dispels ignorance None can escape the prison of this body unless he obtains the illumination of the revealed Veda, proclaimed by him, who has the various above-mentioned names".

We have already pointed out that the poet of the *Śilappadikāram* was a man of wide vision end extensive learning This is the reason why in the above description of the Tīrthankara he has used epithets which are found in the description of Brahman or Śiva in the Hindu mythology

Let us turn our attention to some of the places of Tamil Nadu and Kerala connected with Jainism from the earliest times. The above discussion has abundantly shown the popularity of the Jain religon in the three southern kingdoms of Cola, Pāndya and Cera A very good number of places associated with the Jain religion and culture from different parts of these states have been discovered Although the inscriptions discovered from these Jain holy places are of somewhat later date (mostly after the 7th century A D), there is little doubt that most of these places were associated with Jainism from a much earlier period We have early Brāhmī inscriptions datable from 3rd century B C and 1st century A D, which have been discovered from the hills connected with Jainism in Tamil Nadu and Kerala These Brāhmī inscriptions have not yet been properly read and therefore their contents continue to baffle researchers Quite a few of them possibly contain the earliest specimens of the Tamil language, but most of them are a curious mixture of regional Prakrit and Tamil Further, all these epigraphs contain only a few words, which is the reason why we have not been able to do full justice to them

Let us first turn our attention to the Jain sites of Tamil Nadu The present Madura district, it appears, was the most important stronghold of the Jain religion in this state We have already seen that according to the Sangam literatury texts Madura was noted for its Jain temples and large number of lay devotees We must not forget that as a result of religious persecution, almost all the Jain shrines of Madura city, disappeared in course of time The exceedingly high red walls of Jain monasteries, referred to in the *Maduraikkanchi*, are now things of the past But in other places of the district, an unusally large number of sites (particularly in the hills) are known to contain Jain relics Among these sites the following may be mentioned here in alphabetical order—Aivarmalai, Alagarmalai,

Annimalai, Karungālakkudi, Kilolavu, Kongar—Puliyangulam, Muttupatti, Poygaimalai, Settipodanu and Utamapalai This list of Jain sites in Madura district, is by no means, exhaustive We should also note that majority of these sites are situated on hills

Aivarmalai is nine miles from Palni and is 1402 feet above the sea-level[65] The hill here, according to the tradition, was associated with the Pāndavas Such traditions are common everywhere in India On the north-east side of a natural shelter of the hill, which is 160 feet long and 13 feet high, we have 16 images of Tīrthankaras A number of inscriptions have been discovered from this place and they will be discussed in the Xth chapter of this work

The range of hills known as Alagarmalai[66] is some 12 miles North-west of Madura Brāhmī inscriptions, assignable to the 2nd century B C, have been discovered from the Pillow side of the stone-beds in a cavern of the hill, which were obviously used by the ascetics who lived there Since the later inscriptions, found in the same cavern, associate the place with Jainism, it is permissible to conjecture that the Nirgrantha *sādhus* used the stone-beds in pre-Christian times and the Brāhmī inscriptions were caused to be inscribed by them It has further been surmised[67] that the natural caves formed by the overhanging rocks with plain walls and vaulted roofs were provided with wooden facades in pre-Christian period We have already observed that the Jain ascetics of pre-Christian times led a very simple, almost a hard life and usually avoided populous towns and villages It is also reasonable to conjecture that the Cāranas, referred to in the Sangam texts, were the monks who inhabited such caverns

Anaimalai or the elephant hill, which is six miles east of Madura, is 'the most striking mass of perfectly naked solid rock"[68] It is about two miles long, a quarter of a mile wide and 250 feet high It bears a fair resemblance to an elephant lying down On a big boulder of this hill we have a series of sculptures representing the Tīrthankaras The overhanging portions of the boulder form a sort of natural cave which was probably used by the Jain monks There are signs of rude walls In front of the cave there is a rock-platform, which

commands the most beautiful view across the green fields The Jain ascetics, it appears, had an eye for the picturesque[69] It is reasonable to surmise that the lay devotees of the city of Madura, used to supply necessary articles for living to the venerable monks living there This cavern is still known as Śamanar Kovil or temple of the Jain *munis* We will in a later chapter discuss the inscriptions of this cavern

Karungālakkudi, another Pañcapāndava hill is known for its ancient cavern and Brāhmī inscriptions[70] In later period also this hill was inhabited by the Jain ascetics Kilalavu[71] is also a hill-site situtated in the Melur tāluk of Madura district. This hill contains a very large number of stony beds, carefully sheltered, indicating a big settlement of ascetics in the earlier period. Other details regarding this site will be discussed afterwards

Kongar-Puliyangulam[72] is another hill site with rock-cut beds in the Tirumangalam Taluk of Madura There is an interesting image here of the great Jain saint Ajjanandi about whom we will have something more to say afterwards

Muttupatti[73] is the name of a village in the Nilakkottai taluk where we have a huge overhanging boulder that has a few ancient stone-beds and Brāhmī inscriptions A number of later inscriptions found from this site will be discussed elsewhere

Poygaimalai[74] is eleven miles to the west of Tirumangalam in Madura district In a natural cave of this hill are carved in relief a series of Jina sculptures The hill is popularly known as Samanar Kovil or the Jain temple

Settipodavu[75] (meaning 'the hollow of the eminent merchant') is an extremely interesting cavern near Kilakkudi, a village in Madura taluk It was surely a very popular Jain resort from early times A good number of interesting inscriptions have been found from this place These inscriptions supply us with important information regarding the Jain religion of later times, all these things will be discussed in a later chapter Uttamapalai[76] is a Jain site in Periyakulan taluk and has several interesting inscriptions

In the district of Tinnevelly there was an extremely important

stronghold of the Jain faith in a place now called Kalugamalai[77] This hill has treasured natural caverns with beds and inscriptions in Brāhmī characters A very good number of later Jain inscriptions and sculptures have also been found from this hill

Among other celebrated Jain sites of Tamil Nadu the following may be mentioned—Pātalipura[78] (South Arcot), Colavāndipuram[79] (South Arcot), Pañcapāndavamalai[80] (N Arcot) In the former Pudukkottai state, now included in Tamil Nadu, we have the following interesting Jain sites—Śittannavasal[81], Nārttāmalai[82], Āluruttimalai[83], Bommamalai[84], Melamalai[85], Tenimalai[86], Chettipaṭṭi[87] etc

A number of sites in modern Kerala connected with Jainism have been discovered We have already taken note of the fact that according to the *Silappadikāram* there was a well known Jain monastery near the Cera capital Vañji Tiruccānttumalai[88] also known as the hill of the Cāranas near Chitaral in this state was a famous Jain centre of pilgrimage in ancient times The temple is now known as the shrine of Bhagavatī, but the icons here abundantly prove that it was a Jain centre In the natural cave on the top of the hill have beautiful Jain sculptures and inscriptions from 8th to 10th century A D, which will be discussed afterwards Jain sculptures and inscriptions have also been discovered from Nagarkoyil[89]

Let us turn our attention to the state of Jainism during the days of the Pallavas The Pallavas, as is well known, were Brāhmanical Hindus But there are indications that during the reign of the Pallavas, Jainism remained one of the dominant religious systems and more than one royal member of the dynasty favoured the monks belonging to this sect

The first notable event in the history of Jainism in the post-Sangam period was the establishment of Drāvida Sangha by Vajranandin at Daksina-Mathurā, 526 years after king Vikrama This information is supplied by Digambara Devasena in his *Darśanasāra*[90] composed in 990 V S or 933 A D Therefore according to Devasena Drāvida Sangha was founded in 464 A D at Madura, which as we have already seen, was intimately connected with the Jain religion A few years before this date, of the town of Pātalikā in Pānarāṣṭra[91] in Śaka 380

i e 458 A D, the Digambara *Lokavibhāga* was composed by Sarvanandin in the 22nd year of Simhavarman, the king of Kāñcī We have already referred to the place called Pātalipura in South Arcot which is generally identified with Pātalikā of Sarvanandin These two important evidences directly prove that Jainism was in flourishing condition in the 5th century during the Pallava rule in South India It should here be mentioned that the chronological evidence regarding the beginning of Simhavarman s rule, supplied by the *Lokavibhāga,* has greatly helped scholars to reconstruct early Pallava history

Turning now to inscriptions before 600 A D, we find there are at least two where a royal member of the dynasty of the Pallavas is associated with the Jain religion The first inscription[93] dated in 6th year of Simhavarman II father of Simhavisnu and grandfather of Mahendravarman, was discovered a few years ago The great importance of this inscription can hardly be overemphasised It records the grant of a village to the Jain sage Vajranandin of Nandi Sangha at Vardhamānesvara Tirtha for conducting the worship of Lord Jina Since this Simhavarman was the grand-father of Mahendravarman, this inscription should be placed around circa 550 A D[93] It also refers to his son Simhavisnu, who is described as the conqueror of the Cola country and at whose request the grant was made The grant is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil Incidentally this record contains one of the earliest specimens of epigraphic Tamil[94] From the Tamil portion we learn that the land regarding the grant was at a place called Paruttikkanru which is a locality near Kanchi Narabhaya, the minister figures as the *ājñāpati* of the grant The same Simhavisnu, who is here depicted as a patron of Jainism, appears elsewhere[95] as a devotee of Visnu

The reference to Vardhamānesvara Tirtha is of great significance It proves the existence of a sacred Jain place near Kanchi, named after the last Jain Tirthankara It is tempting to identify this Tirtha with the celebrated Jina-Kāñcī But this remains only a suggestion for the time being

Another member of the early Pallava royal family appears in a Western Ganga inscription of the 12th year of the reign of

Avinita[96], discovered from Hoskote (Bangalore district, Karnatak) as a patroness of the Jain religion. We are told in this inscription that a *devāyatana*, dedicated to Arhats, was constructed by the mother (*jananī*) of the Pallava overlord (*adhirāja*) Simhaviṣṇu at the village of Pulligere in Konkunda division (*bhūge*). We further learn that this temple was meant for the use of the monks of Yāvanīka Sangha (i.e. Yāpanīya Sangha). But the most crucial passage of the inscription is that which refers to the fact that the lady (viz. the mother of Simhaviṣṇu) constructed the Jina temple with a view to enhance the glory of her husband's family (*bhartṛkulakīrtijananyārtham*) viz. the Pallavas. Her husband was evidently Simhavarman II of the Pallava inscription, referred to above. It further shows that, not only the royal lady herself (cf. *ātmanaśca dharmapravardhanārtham*), but also the members of husband's family had soft corner for the Jain religion. This inscription is to be placed in circa 560 A.D. according to our calculation.

The above discussion shows that the Pallavas, in spite of their weakness for traditional Hinduism, had great deference for the Jains. Let us not forget that, long before the emergence of the Pallavas as a political power, the Jains had carved for themselves a permanent place in the religious life of South India.

Jainism in Karnātaka and Andhra

Let us now turn our attention to Karnāṭaka which from pretty early period produced some of the remarkable Jain saints. We have already opined that the tradition regarding the migration of the Jains under Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta cannot be accepted at the present state of our knowledge. Further, the earliest author that refers to Candragupta's conversion to Jainism is Yativṛṣabha, the author of the *Tiloyapannati* (early 7th century), who lived nearly 1000 years after Candragupta Maurya. Śravaṇa Belgola, which according to the tradition, was the place of Candragupta's death, has not produced any inscription which can be dated before 600 A.D.

The Western Gangas, who ruled in Southern Karṇāṭaka

from the middle of the 4th century A D , were great patrons of the Jain religion and culture from the very beginning of their history The earlier speculations [97] regarding the beginning of the Western Ganga rule have now been proved wrong The Penukonda plates[98] of Mādhava II (sometimes called Mādhava III), which were accepted as genuine even by Fleet, and which had been assigned to circa 475 A D by him, refers to a number of his predecessors The founder Konkanivarman (Mādhava I) should be placed in the middle of the 4th century A D This is also confirmed by the fact that the third king Āryavarman or Harivarman was installed in his throne by his Pallava overlord Simhavarman I, who according to the *Lokavibhāga* ascended the throne in 436 A D

According to later records the earliest king Konkanivarman Mādhava, who came from the North was helped by a great Jain saint called Simhanandi Ācārya in his attempt to carve out an independent kingdom in the South The earliest record that refers to the help rendered by a Jain to Konkanivarman is a damaged copper plate of the reign of Śivamāra I (670-713 A D) which clearly states that at a suggestion of a Jain teacher Konkanivarman had cut down a stone pillar [99] However, in the earlier copper plates of the dynasty no Jain teacher is connected with this valiant feat of the founder of the dynasty Another inscription viz the Udayendiran grant of Hastimalla dated circa 920 A D tells us that the Ganga family prospered because of Simhanandi's help [100] A third inscription dated Śaka 884 of the reign of Mārasimha[101] also refers to this fact and the valiant feat of cutting asunder a great stone pillar gy Konkanivarman A fourth inscription[102] of the eleventh century (dated A D 1077) gives the same information regarding Simhanandi's act and his contribution to the establishment of the Ganga empire However the most beautiful and detailed account regarding Simhnandi's achievement is given in a long lithic record[103] found from Shimoga district of Karnātaka, dated Śaka 1043 (1121 A D) From this account we learn that the two sons of one king Padmanābha called Dadiga and Mādhava, who came from North in search of fortune, found a beautiful spot in an extensive place (now located in Cuddapah district, Andhra Pradesh)

and there they saw a Jain temple (*caityālaya*) and in that shrine they met Simhanandi Ācārya, the sun of the Krānura *gana*, who is directly called in the inscription 'the promoter of the Gaṅga kingdom (*Ganga-rājya-samuddharanam*), who accepted them as his disciples We are further told that the Jain saint gave the brothers a sword (*khadga*) and a whole kingdom Mādhava, one of the brothers, being so honoured, cut down a stone-pillar[104] with his sword, which promted Simhanandi to make a crown from the petals of the *karnikāra* blossom and place it on the heads of the brothers He further gave them his peacock fan as their banner and in due course provided them with an army This inscription also records the advice which that *munipati* gave to those two brothers "If you fail in what you promise, *if you dissent from the Jain śāsana,*[105] if you take the wives of others, if you are addicted to spirits or flesh (*madhumāmsa*), if you associate with the base, if you give not to the needy, if you flee in battle, your race will go to ruin"

Thus with Nandagiri as their fort (*kota*), Kuvalāla (Kolar) as their city and Gangavādi as their kingdom and *Jinamata* as their faith, the two brothers Dadiga and Mādhava ruled their kingdom

The account contained in the above-mentioned stone is more or less legendary But as we have already noted, the connexion of Jain Simhanandi with the foundation of the Ganga kingdom is known from other sources Its account regarding the earlier history of the Ganga dynasty can be dismissed off-hand Its attempt to make Padmanābha, the father of the two brothers (Dadiga and Mādhava) is, to say the least, ridiculous We know from the early and genuine Ganga copper plates including Penukonda that Padmanābha is the deity addressed in the first line of those records Padmanābha, is a popular name of Visnu, although according to the Jains,[106] Padmanābha is the first Arhat of the future age It is, however, most likely that by the word '*Padmanābha*' lord Viṣnu is meant in the Ganga inscriptions

Simhanandi's connexion with the founder of the Ganga dynasty is also confirmed by an old commentary of the *Gommaṭasāra*[107] It thus appears to be a historical fact that

Mādhava I Konkanivarman, who founded the Western Ganga kingdom in the middle of the 4th century A D, owes his success to the activities of a Jain saint But there is no direct evidence to prove that Mādhava I himself became a Jain convert Further, an overwhelming majority of early Western Ganga inscriptions are grants made to Brāhmanas and other non-Jains It appears, however, that the Western Ganga monarchs beginning from the founder of the dynasty, had special love for Jainism, although no Jain record, belonging to the reign of first few Ganga kings, has been yet discovered

The first king of this dynasty of whose reign we have definite Jain records is Mādhava III (sometimes called Mādhava II) One inscription[108] of his reign has been discovered from Nonamangala (Kolar district) This inscription is dated in the 13th year of his reign As is well known, his undated Penukonda plate inscription[109] is assigned to circa 475 A D by Fleet That inscription further informs us that he was installed in the throne by his Pallava overlord Skandavarman, the son of Simhavarman I So we have to assign Mādhava III to the last quarter of the 5th century A D This inscription discloses the name of Ācārya Vīradeva and refers to a Jain temple erected by the monks of the Mūlasangha at Pebbolala *grāma* of Mudukottūra *visaya* The temple was apparently situated in the Kolar district of Karnātaka The king Mādhava, we are told, granted to this temple the village of Kumārapura along with some other lands which were apparently situated near the village It is apparent that the temple, mentioned here, was built before the 5th century A D, the date of this inscription, but how long before, we cannot guess The epithets bestowed on the Jain *guru* Vīradeva prove that he was held in highest esteem by Mādhava III If is also interesting to note that the grant was made in the bright fortnight of Phālguna, which is the time for the great Aṣṭāhnikā festival Mādhava III, however, in spite of his fondness for the Jain religion, was a tolerant king, as is evident from his grants made to other religious sects including the Buddhists [110]

The next king Avinīta Konkanivarman had a long rule and may be assigned to the 1st half of the 6th century A D. Three

inscriptions of his reign are Jain grants, although the genuineness of one has been doubted The earliest is a Nonamangala (Kolar district) grant,[111] dated in the first year of his reign. We are told that the king, on the advice of his preceptor *parama arhat* Vijayakīrti 'whose fame had pervaded all regions' granted land to the Uranur Arhat temple which was established by Candranandin and others The same inscription refers to another Jain temple called Perur Evāni Adigal Arhat temple Both these temples were apparently situated in the Kolar district It is interesting to note that the Jain saint Vijayakīrti in this inscription is represented as the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) of the king Ācārya Candranandin of Mūlasangha apparently flourished before Ācārya Vijayakirti

The second Jain grant of king Avinīta is dated in the 12th year of his reign[112] This inscription was discovered from Hoskote (Bangalore district, Karnāṭaka) It records the grant of land to a Jain temple at Pulli-ura village of Korikunda-bhāga. We have already noticed this inscription in connexion with Pallava Simhavisnu The reference to the well-known Yāpanīya Sangha is quite interesting This inscription and the inscription, noticed above, show Avinīta's close and intimate relationship with the Digambara Jains of various groups This inscription, as we have already noticed, proves the contemporaneity of Pallava Simhaviṣṇu and Ganga Avinīta and is therefore of great historical importance However, there are reasons to believe, and as will be shown elsewhere, Avinīta was a senior contemporary of Simhaviṣṇu

The third Jain inscription[113] of the reign of Avinīta is now the property of the Lutheral Museum, Basel (Switzerland) It refers to Konguṇimahādhirāja Avinīta and also gives the date Śaka 388 It was found in the Mercara treasury (Coorg district, Karnāṭaka) But the inscription is clearly a later forgery as is evident from the details given regarding the date and *nakṣatra* and also the script which is clearly of 8th or 9th century A D But the details regarding Avinīta's predecessors, given in this inscription, are the same as that found in genuine Ganga records It appears therefore that the inscription was forged at a later date by some intelligent Jain monks, who had access to

official Ganga records Even they have cleverly given some of the names of witnesses found in genuine, early records

This forged grant further refers to a minister of 'Akālavarṣa Pṛthivī-vallabha' who was probably a Rāṣṭrakūta king But what a minister of a Rāṣṭrakūta king had to with a grant of a Ganga ruler is not clear Probably the forgery was made during the days of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas Further, the reference to the *anvaya* (lineage) of Kundakunda looks highly suspect

This forged inscription gives the following list of the Jain Ācāryas of the *anvaya* of Kundakunda—

Gunacandra-bhatāra
|
Abhayanandi-bhatāra
|
Śīlabhadra-bhatāra
|
Jayanandi-bhatāra
|
Gunanandi-bhatāra
|
Candranandi-bhatāra

Since this inscription is a forged document of 8th or 9th century, we cannot rely on the evidence of this record and accept the list of monks as persons belonging to the days of early Ganga rulers Other details given in this grant should also be ignored

Avinīta's son and successor Durvinīta ruled, in all probability, in the 2nd half of the 6th century A D Like his father he too, had a long reign [114] We must remember that the great-grandson of Durvinīta viz Bhūvikrama started ruling from 625 A D [115] So Durvinīta must be placed before 600 A D This is confirmed partly by the discovery of a mutilated manuscript of the *Avantīsundarīkathā*[116] which makes Durvinīta a contemporary of Simhavisnu We have already seen that Durvinīta's father Avinīta was a contemporary of Simhavisnu Therefore it appears that Avinīta's son was a junior contemporary of that Pallava monarch [117]

No Jain inscription of the reign of Durvinīta has yet been discovered But a later record, dated Śaka 977 (1055 A D) of the time of Someśvara I, the Kālyana-Cālukya monarch, refers to a temple dedicated to Pārśva, which according to it, was built by Durvinīta [118] This definitely proves that Durvinīta, like many of his predecessors, patronised the Jains

A few scholars are firmly of the opinion that Durvinīta was a disciple of the great Jain savant Pūjyapāda The basis of their surmise is one of his records, dated in his 40th regnal year [119] According to this inscription he composed a work called the *Śabdavatāra* [120] Prof Saletore argues[121] that Durvinīta merely put into Kannada the original *Śabdavatāra*, a grammatical treatise written by Pūjyapāda But this is a mere conjecture We must remember that according to Devasena (933 A D), Vajranandi the founder of Drāvida Sangha, who flourished about 468 A D , at Madura was a disciple of Pūjyapāda But we have already seem that Durvinīta could not have flourished before the 2nd half of the 6th century A D , and Pūjyapāda must have died at least 50 years before Durvinīta's probable date of birth Therefore there is no basis for the view that Durvinīta was a disciple of Pūjyapāda However, it is just possible that sometime after Pūjyapāda's death, Durvinīta on his own initiative, translated the grammatical treatise of that Jain savant

In a later chapter we will continue this discussion on the state of Jainism during the rule of the later Western Ganga rulers Let us now turn our attention to the condition of the Jain religion in the Kadamba kingdom from the earliest times

The Kadambas like the Western Gangas came into the limelight from the middle of the 4th century A D Like the latter they too were great patrons of the Jain religion and culture The earliest inscription[122] of the dynasty of the founder Mayūraśarman is assigned to the middle of the 4th century A D The first king of this dynasty, who definitely showed special favour for the Jains, was Kākusthavarman whose Halsi grant (Belgaum district, Karnāṭaka) is dated in the 80th year of the *paṭṭabandha* of his ancestor Mayūrasarman [123] It has been suggested[124] that the year 80 may also be referred to the Gupta era, in that

case the inscription should be assigned to circa 400 A D, which is also supported by the palaeography of the record

The inscription begins with an adoration of the holy Jinendra who is represented almost as a theistic deity Some of the grants of Mrgeśvarman and Ravivarman begin with the same verse It was issued from Palāśikā (Halsi, Belgaum district) by Kākusthavarman, who is represented as the '*yuvarāja* of the Kadambas' By this grant a field in the village called Kheṭa-grāma, which belonged to the holy Arhats, was given to the general Śrutakīrti as a reward for saving the prince It is said that the confiscators of the field, belonging to the king's own family or any other family, would me guilty of *pañcamahāpātaka*. According to the Jains the five sins are destruction of life, lying, unchastity and immoderate desire The inscription ends with the words *Ṛṣabhāya namaḥ*

It is apparent from the inscription that the Jinendra temple of the ancient city of Palāśikā was built before the date of this inscription and probably some time in the 4th century A D

Several grants of Mrgesvavarman, the grandson of Kākustha-varman, who ruled in the last quarter of the 5th century A D [125] are connected with the Jain religion The first inscription[126] found at Banavāsi is dated in the 3rd regnal year It records a grant of black-soil land (*kṛṣnabhūmikṣetra*) in the village called Brhat-Paralūra to the divine supreme Arhat 'whese feet are rubbed by the tiara of the lord of gods for the purpose of the glory of sweeping out the temple, anointing the idol with ghee, performing worship and repairing anything that may be broken Another piece of land was also granted for decorating the idol with flowers The term *devakula* is also used in this connexion The *paṭṭikā* is said to have been written by Dāmakīrti Bhojaka We have another Banavāsi grant[127] dated in the 4th year of Mrgesa's reign which was issued on the 8th of the bright fort-night of *varṣā* when the king was residing at Vaijayantī The dating of the inscription was surely due to the Jain influence[128], as it was the time of the Navdīśvara or Aṣṭāhnikā festival By this grant the *dharmamahārāja* Śri Vijayaśiva Mrgeśvavarman made a gift of a village of the name of Kālavanga It was divided in three equal portions, the first was meant for the temple of

Jinendra which was situated at a place called Paramapuṣkala The second portion was meant for the Sangha of the Śvetapaṭa-mahāśramaṇa who followed scrupulously the original teaching of the Arhat and the third for the use of the Nirgrantha-mahā śramaṇas

The reference to the Śvetapaṭa *sādhus* is of great significance It clearly proves that the Śvetāmbaras were equally popular in Karnāṭaka in the 5th century A D The statement that they followed the good teaching of the Arhat implies that they were held in special esteem in those days It is also evident from the inscription that the Jinendra temple mentioned here, was the joint propery of the monks of both the sects Needless to say, these monks belonging to the main branches, of Jainism, lived in perfect harmony in the 5th century A D The seal of the grant, according to Fleet, bears the device of a Jinendra

The third inscription of Mṛgeśavarman, bearing on Jainism, is the Halsi grant[129] dated in the 8th year of that king It begins like the inscription of Kākusthavarman with an adoration to Jinendra in exactly the same words The king Mṛgesa is further described as *Tunga-Gangakulotsādī* and *Pallavapralayānala* which suggest his success over the Western Gangas and Pallavas Then we are told that, while residing at Vaijayantī, through devotion of his father (Śāntivarman), he caused to be built a *jinālaya* at the town of Palāśikā (Halsi) and gave to the holy Arhats thirty three *nivartanas* of land between the river Mātr-sarit and Inginī-sangama for the Yāpanīyas, Nirgranthas and Kūrcakas The executor of the grant was *bhojaka* Dāmakīrti Fleet takes the *bhojakas* as the official priests in Jain temples But who were the Kūrcakas mentioned in this inscription? It appears that they were bearded ascetics[130] and were distinguished from other Nirgrantha monks, who did not keep any beard Some other grants of Mṛgeśvarman are meant for the Brahmins and other non-Jains which show that he was not a converted Jain[131]

The next king Ravivarman was not only a very able ruler and a great conqueror but also a sincere patron of the Jain religion We must at first refer to his Halsi grant[132] dated in the

eleventh year of his reign which refers to his brother Bhānuvarman, who was probably the governor of Palāsikā[133] under Ravivarman We are told that Bhānuvarman and one Pandara Bhojaka granted land to the Jina at Palāśikā which was situated in a village called Kardamapatī We are further told that the land was given for the purpose of worshipping the Lord Jina on every full-moon day We must then refer to two undated Halsi grants of the time of Ravivarman both of which are of great importance

The first undated Halsi grant[134] of Ravivarman records the interesting history of a family that received favour from the days of king Kākusthavarman According to it in former days a Bhoja named Śrutakīrti, who acquired great favour of Kākusthavarman, enjoyed the village of Kheta We have already taken note of the fact that king Kākusthavarman granted a field in that village to *senāpati* Śrutakīrti for serving him After Śrutakīrti's death, at the time of Śāntivarman, his eldest son Mṛgesa, after taking his father's permission, granted the village to the mother of Dāmakīrti It appears that Dāmakīrti was the son of Śrutakīrti The eldest son of Dāmakīrti was *pratīhāra* Jayakīrti, whose family is said have been established in the world by an *ācārya* named Bandhusena In order to increase his fortune, fame, and for the sake of religious merit, Jayakīrti, through the favour of king Ravi gave the village of Parukhetaka (probably larger Kheta) to the mother of his father This interesting grant further refers to the 8-day festival of Lord Jina at Palāsikā in which king Ravivarman himself participated We are further told that the expenses for this Astahnikā festival in the month of Kārttika should be met from the revenue of the village The grant further refers to the Yāpanīya monks and their chief Kumāradatta The last few lines of the inscription conclusively show that king Ravivarman did everything to promote the worship of Jina at Palāsikā It further appears that Sūri Kumāradatta mentioned in this inscription, was a celebrated Jain savant, belonging to the Yāpanīya sect and was universally admired for his learning and holiness We must note carefully the following lines of this inscription "wheresoever the worship of Jinendra is kept up there is increase for

the country, and the lords of these countries acquire strength (*orjas*)

The second undated Halsi grant of Ravivarman[136] is historically more important since it refers to the killing of Viṣṇuvarman, his Kadamba kinsman, and his triumph over Caṇḍadanda, the lord of Kāñcī The actual donor was Śrīkīrti, the younger brother of Dāmakīrti and the object was to increase the merit of their mother A copper plate inscription,[135A] dated in the 34th year of this king, found from Chitradurga district (Karnāṭaka) records a grant of land to a Jaina temple

It should here be remembered that Ravivarman did not favour the Jains alone other religions sects also received good treatment from him This is proved by his inscriptions found from different places[136] Ravivarman ruled in the closing years of the 5th and the first quarter of the 6th century A D[137]

The Jains also enjoyed patronage during the rule of Harivarman, who unlike his father Ravivarman, was not a very strong king We have two dated Halsi grants of his reign The first is dated in the 4th year of his reign[138] It records that at Uccasrngī, the king at the advice of his uncle (*pitrvya*) named Śivaratha, gave the grant of a village to an Arhat temple of Palāsikā, which was built by one Mrgesa, the son of *senāpati* Simha On behalf of the temple, the grant was received by Candrakṣānta, who is described as the head of a Kūrcaka Sangha named after Vārisenācārya It thus appears that a particular member of Kūrcaka sect called Vārisenācārya established, before this date, a particular Sangha, which was named after him We have already taken note of these Kūrcakas, who are mentioned in an inscription of the time of Mrgesavarman The village Vasuntavāṭaka which was given as grant was situated at Kandura-viṣaya The inscription ends with a verse addressed to Vardhamāna

The second Halsi grant[139] of Harivarman's reign is dated in his 5th regnal year It is interesting that Palāśika is described here as the capital (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of this king We are told that the king, being requested by Sendraka chief Bhānuśakti gave the grant of a village called Marade for a Jain *caityālaya* of Palāśikā, which was the property of Śramana-sangha called Ahariṣṭi and

who were under Ācārya Dharmanandin The Sendrakas were obviously the feudatories of the Kadambas The Harivarman, however, before the end of his reign, became a Śaiva [140]

Another branch of the kadamba dynasty, who ruled in the southern part of the original Kadamba dominion, also patronised the Jains We have a grant[141], of the time of Kṛṣnavarman I (circa 475-485 A D), the brother of Śāntivarman, issued from Triparvata (probably Halebid) By this grant a piece of land at a place called Siddhakedāra, which was in Triparvata division, was granted to Yāpanīya Sangha by Yuvarāja Devavarman for the maintenance, worship and repair of a *caityālaya,* which was probably near Siddhakedāra

The above discussion shows the flourishing condition of Jainism in different parts of the Kadamba dominion It appears that there were a number of Jain temples at Palāsikā, which was a flourishing town in those days These inscriptions, as noted above, have disclosed the names of a great number of Jain savants, some of whom were even respected by the reigning monarchs The references to different Jain sects like the Nirgranthas, Śvetapatas and Kūrcakas prove that all these schools had their followers in the Kadamba dominion The lay followers used to celebrate, with great pomp, the various Jain festivals and, needless to say, such festivals made the Jain religion extremely popular among the masses The Kadamba kings, it appears, in spite of their religious catholicity, had special love for the Jain religion It was mainly because of their patronage that Jainism became a dominant religious force in Karnāṭaka

Turning to the Western Cālukyas, some of whom ruled before 600 A D, we find at least one king directly patronising the Jains But we must at first refer to a spurious grant of the time of Pulakeśin I, known as Altem grant[142] This inscription gives the date Śaka 411 (i e 489 A D) for Pulakeśin I, which is an impossible date for that king We have now a genuine date viz Śaka 465 for that king[143], supplied by an inscription inscribed on the Badami fort As pointed out by Fleet, the script of Altem grant belongs to a much later age

It is, therefore, desirable that we should discuss the contents of the inscription in a later chapter

An undated stone inscription[144] of the time of Kīrtivarman I, who ruled in the 2nd half of the 6th century A D, from Ādūr (Dharwar district, Karnāṭaka) is an important Jain record Now, we know that Kīrtivarman I's rule[145] terminated in 597 A D., therefore this inscription should be placed between 543 A D (Śaka 465) and 597 A D It begins with an adoration to Vardhamāna Then it records the grant of a field for the *dānaśālā* of the Jinālaya which had been built by one of the Gāmundas or village headman The inscription refers to Vaijayantī, but due to its damaged nature nothing definite can be known about its connexion either with Kīrtivarman or Jainism We are then told that, while Kīrtivarman was reigning as supreme sovereign, and while a certain Sinda king was governing the city of Pāndīpura (the ancient name of Ādūr[146]), a number of Gāmundas gave to the temple of Jinendra some rice-land to the west of the village of Karmagālur The inscription refers to a line of Jain monks, the earliest of whom was Vinayanandin, who is here compared with Indrabhūti (the great disciple of Mahāvīra) He obviously flourished around the last quarter of the 5th century A D The disciple of this Vinayanandin was Vāsudeva, whose disciple's disciple was Śrīpāla, who was responsible for the setting up of the stone tablet The grant was received on behalf of the Jina temple (which was at Ādūr) by Prabhācandra It is interesting to note that this stone inscription has been discovered from a region which was formerly under the Kadambas It further shows that Jainism received equal patronage even during the days of the Cālukyas and in a later chapter we will see how sincerely the Cālukyas favoured the Jains

Regarding the condition of Jainism in Andhra Pradesh[147] before 600 A D, nothing practically is known However from a somewhat later Eastern Cālukya inscription,[148] which will be discussed elsewhere, we learn that a number of Jain saints flourished in the Vezwada region between 450 A D and 600 A D The names are as follows—Candraprabhācārya, his pupil's pupil Ravicandrācārya and his disciple's disciple Ravinandin These

Jain teachers, who are mentioned in the Musinikonda grant of Viṣṇuvardhana III, were the spiritual predecessors of Kālibhadrācārya, who was a contemporary of Ayyana Mahādevī, the wife of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana (early 7th century)

In a grant of Pallava Simhavarman found from Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh (5th century) there is a reference to the Ājīvikas[149] So far as Jainism is concerned, due to various reasons, the early monuments, connected with it, have simply disappeared from Andhra Pradesh

Quite a good number of Jain teachers of South India like Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, Divākara, Pūjyapāda etc, certainly flourished before 600 A D We will discuss in a separate chapter the details of their life and activities

NOTES

1 (Geiger), p 75
2 X 102
3 See Geiger, *Introd*, p XXXVI
4 See Winternitz, *Hist of Indian Literature*, Vol II, p 211, see also *The Classical Age*, p 407
5 See Winternitz, *op cit*, p 210, *The Classical Age* pp 406-07
6 (Ed H Oldenberg) 19 14
7 See the entry on the *Tamil Literature* in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, see also Vaiyapuri, *Tamil Language and Lit*, p 151
8 See Dikshitar (translation), p 343
9 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp 239-40
10 For a list of different Tamil editions of this text see Chakravarti, *Jain Literature in Tamil* p 19 fn 2
11 See for different views on its date, Chakravarti, *op cit*, p 24 foot note
12 Chakravarti *op cit*, p 21
13 See Vaiyapuri, *op cit*, pp 65 f, Chakravarti, p 22
14 Chakravarti, *op cit*, p 22
15 See T P Meenakshisundaram, *A Hist of Tamil Literature* (1965), p 17
16 33 78
17 Translation by G U Pope (London, 1886) For the list of Tamil editions of *Kural* see Chakravarti, *op cit*, p 28 foot-note
18 See Chakravarti, *op cit*, pp 33 ff
19 *Loc cit*
20 Chakravarti, *op cit*, p 38

21 *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p 139
22 Pp 33 ff
23 See Dikshitar (translation), pp 343-4
24 See Padikam, p 77
25 See Dikshitar, p 77 fn 2
26 *Ibid*, pp 343-4
27 *Ibid*, pp 68 f
28 *Ibid*, pp 181 ff , 231 ff etc
29 The name of this town was known to the Jātaka writers
30 See Dikshitar, p 152
31 See McCrindle, *Ancient India* etc p 63
32 Dikshitar, *op cit* p 216,
33 *Ibid*, p 157
34 See the present writer's *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition*, p 188
35 See Legge, *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, pp 18 f see also *Brhatkathākośa*, 12. 116
36 Even now the Hindus observe the car-festival
37 See Chatterjee, A K *op cit*, p 188
38 Para 680
39 10 29
40 P 322
41 10 29
42 See Mehta and Chandra, *Prakrit Proper Names*, Part I, p 258
43 See Dikshitar, *op cit* p 163
44 *Ibid*, p 171
45 Sailana edition, pp 22 ff
46 Dikshitar p 158
47 *Ibid*, p 216
48 Lines 453 ff. quoted in Kanakasabhai's *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago*, p 136
49 Dikshitar, *op cit* p 158
50 *Ibid*, p 157
51 *Ibid*, p 164
52 *Ibid*, pp 231 ff
53 *Ibid*, pp 181 f
54 *Ibid*, pp 231 ff
55 *Ibid*, p 308
56 See Chakravarti, *op cit*, p 52, also Dikshitar, *op cit*, p 227
57 See Dikshitar, p 220, see also p 344
58 Ibid, p 220
59 For its summary see Kanakasabhai, *op cit*, pp 162-189, also Vaiyapuri, *op cit*, pp 169-190
60 See Kanakasabhai, *op cit*, p 165
61 *Ibid* p 215

62 See *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*

63 Kanakasabhai *ibid*, p 214

64 Dikshitar, *op cit*, p 164

65 See *Madura District Gazetteer* (ed W Francis) pp 300-01, see also Desai, P B *Jainism in South India* etc, pp 60-61

66 See Desai, *op cit*, p 57, see also *ARE*, 1910, p 69

67 See *JOR*, Vol XIII, p 3

68 *Madura District Gazetteer*, p 254

69 *Ibid*, p 256

70 See Desai *op cit*, p 60 see also *ARE* 1912, p 50

71 See Desai, *op cit*, p 60, see also *ARE* 1910, pp 68-69

72 See Desai, *op cit*, p 58, see also *ARE*, 1910 p 66

73 Desai, *op cit*, p 57, *ARE*, 1910 p 67

74 Desai, *op cit*, p 60, *ARE*, 1909 p 70

75 See Desai, *op cit*, p 58

76 *Madura District Gazetteer* pp 321 f see also Desai, *op cit*, p 57

77 Desai *op cit*, p 64, *ARE* 1907, p 47

78 Desai, *op cit*, pp 48-49 see also *EI* Vol XIV, p 334 According to the *Periya Purānam* this place was a seat of a large Jain monastery in the 7th century A D See also Chakravarti, *op cit*, p 9

79 See Desai, *op cit*, pp 49-50

80 *Ibid*, pp 39-41

81 *Ibid*, pp 51 ff, see also *Manual of Pudukkottai State* 1944 Vol II, p 1092

82 *Desai, op cit*, p 53, *Manual of Pudukkottai State*, p 1068

83 Desai, *op cit* p 53

84 *Ibid* pp 53 f

85 *Ibid*, p 54

86 *Loc cit*

87 Desai, *op cit*, p 55

88 *Ibid*, pp 68 f, see also *Travancore Archaeological Series* Vol I, p 194

89 See *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol II pp 127-129

90 P 24 (quoted in J P Jain's *The Jaina Sources* etc p 160 fn 1)

91 See *EI*, Vol 14, p 334

92 See *A R E* 1958 59, A 10, also pp 3-4, for the text see *Transaction of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1958-59, pp 41 ff

93 See *A R E*, 1958-59, pp 3 f

94 See Kamil Zvelebil, *Tamil in 550 A D*, Prague, 1964

95 See *S I I*, Vol II, pp 391 ff

96 See *M A R*, 1938 pp 80 ff, see also *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol IV, No 20

97 For a summary of various such speculations, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism* pp 7 ff

98 See *EI*, Vol 14, pp 334 f

99 *M A R*, 1925, p 91

100 *S I I*, Vol II, p 387

101 *M A R*, 1921, p 19

102 *E C*, Vol VII, Nr 46, p 139

103 See *Jain Śilālekha Samgraha*, Vol II, No 277

104 It has been suggested that Mādhava I Koṅkaṇivarman probably destroyed an Aśokan pillar with his sword, see Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions, Introd*, p xlii see also Saletore, *op cit*, pp 15 f

105 Italics ours

106 See *Pāia Sadda-Mahannavo*, p 496

107 See *M A R*, 1921, p 26

108 *E C* Vol X, Malur, No 73

109 *EI*, Vol 14, pp 334 ff

110 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, Part II, (1930), p 621

111 *E C*, Vol X, Malur, No 72

112 *M A R*, 1938 pp 80 ff

113 *E C*, Vol I (Reprint), No 1

114 See *M A R*, 1912, Para 67 The Gummareddipura plates show that he ruled at least for 40 years

115 *M A R*, 1925, No 105

116 See *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol II Part II, (1930) pp 626 f see also *M A R*, 1938, pp 87 ff

117 It appears that Viṣnuvardhana mentioned in the *Avantisundarikathā*, as a contemporary of Durvinita and Simhaviṣṇu is a different king and not to be identified with Kubja Visnuvardhana, the founder of the Vengi house

118 See *Jain Śilālekha Samgraha*, Vol IV, No 141, see also *I A*, Vol, 55, p 74, and Saletore, *op cit*, pp 53 f

119 See Saletore *op cit*, pp 19 ff

120 *M A R*, 1912, pp 31-32

121 *Mediaeval Jainism*, pp 21 ff

122 *M A R*, 1929, p 50, also Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* etc, pp 473 f

123 See Sircar, *Successors of the Śātavāhanas* etc, p 255, see also *IA*, Vol VI, p 23

124 *Ibid*, p 234 fn

125 See *The Classical Age*, p 272

126 *I A*, Vol VII, pp 35-36

127 *Ibid*, pp 37-8

128 See Sircar, *op cit*, p 262

129 *I A*, Vol VI, pp 24-25

130 See M M-Williams, *S E D*, p 300

131 See *E C*, Vol IV, p 130, Vol VIII, p 12

132 *I A* Vol VI, p 28

133 Sircar, *op cit*, p 269

134 *I A*, Vol VI, pp 25 26
135 *Ibid*, pp 29-30
135A *M A R*, 1933 pp 109 ff
136 See *EI*, Vol 16 p 264 *EI*, Vol VIII pp 146 ff etc
137 See *The Classical Age*, p 273
138 *I A*, Vol VI, pp 30-31
139 *Ibid*, pp 31-32
140 See *E I*, Vol 14 p 165
141 *I A*, Vol VII p 33
142 See A V Naik, *A List of Inscriptions of the Deccan* No 3
143 *Ibid*, No 1
144 *I A* Vol XI, pp 68-71
145 *The Classical Age*, p 233
146 *I A*, Vol XI, p 69
147 See in this connexion *Journal of Andhra Research Society* Vol XIII, pp 185 196
148 See *Report on South Indian Epigraphy* 1916 17 No A 9
149 *E I* Vol 24, pp 296 ff

CHAPTER IX

Jainism in North India

(600 A.D. to 1000 A.D.)

Despite the paucity of Jain records in North India in the post-Gupta period, it is possible to write a more or less faithful account of the state of the Jain religion, not only with the help of inscriptions, but also literary works. We have already noticed that the religion of the Tīrthankaras was firmly established in almost every part of India by 600 A.D. We should remember in this connexion that a large number of Jain commentaries came to be written in the post-Gupta period, which also indirectly proves the popularity of this religion. However, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Bengal and parts of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh were especially connected with this religion. In other parts of Northern India, this religion merely continued its existence in the post-Gupta period. We will endeavour in this chapter to give a historical account of the Jain religion in different parts of Northern India.

We should, at the very outset, refer to the extremely valuable account given by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who came to India in the 2nd quarter of the 7th century A.D. It is apparent from his account that Jainism was quite popular in different places of India during the time of his visit. He especially refers to the Jains who lived in his time at Kāpiśī[1], Simhapura[2], Rājagṛha[3], Pundravardhana[4] and Samataṭa[5]. It, however, appears from the account of that Chinese pilgrim that the Digambara Jains were more popular in India in his days than the Śvetāmbaras. The only reference to the Śvetāmbaras that we get in his narrative is in connexion with the description of Simhapura. We have already referred to the discoveries made by Stein from this place. From Murti (ancient Simhapura) in Salt Range an old Jain temple has been discovered[6]. It

appears that during the time of Yuan Chwang's visit there was a large Jain temple-complex at Simhapura

Rājagrha, which was intimately associated with the activities of Mahāvīra, was a flourishing Jain centre during Yuan Chwang's visit We are told that he saw many Digambaras on the Vipula mountain practising austerities incessantly "They turn round with the Sun, watching it from its rising to its setting'[7] We have already referred to the fact that in the Gupta period also Jainism was quite popular at Rājagrha

The undivided Bengal was one of the greatest centres of Jainism from practically the days of Lord Mahāvīra But unfortunately, beyond a few references to various *Śākhās* connected with Bengal, nothing tangible is known regarding the state of Jainism here in the pre-Gupta days The Paharpur inscription, which has already been discussed, surely proves the popularity of the Digambara religion in North Bengal in the Gupta period The account of Yuan Chwang conclusively shows the tremendous popularity of Jainism in Pundravardhana and Samatata, the two provinces of ancient Bengal In both these states the pilgrim noticed 'numerous Digambaras In spite of such popularity, neither the literary texts, nor the available inscriptions throw any light on Jainism in Bengal in the post-Gupta period Archaeology also has not given us any help so far However, the discovery of a large number of Jain temples and icons, particularly from Bankura[8] and Purulia[9] proves the popularity of Jainism in West Bengal during the Pāla period It further appears that a few Jina images of Bankura and Purulia, which are generally assigned to the Pāla period, are actually the products of an earlier age A detailed and systematic study is necessary to ascertain the actual position in this respect

There are only a few known Jain inscriptions of Northern India belonging to the 7th century A D Form Pindwara (Sirohi district, Rajasthan) was discovered a brass image of Rsabhanātha with an inscription of Samvat 744 corresponding to 687 A D[10] The image was first noticed by D R Bhandarkar[11] It was discovered from the fort of Vasantgadh and is now preserved in the Mahāvīra temple there Vasantagaḍh was

formerly known as Vasantapura, but its oldest name was Vaṭapura.[12] The present Jain temple is, however, not old. We gather from this damaged inscription that one Dronoraka Yasodeva had the Jina image built by the architect Śivanāga. There is little doubt that the temple, where this icon was installed, existed in the 7th century A.D. We have some other evidences to show that Jainism was quite popular in Rajasthan in the post-Gupta period. Udyotanasūri, who wrote his *Kuvalayamālā* in Śaka 700 during the time of Pratīhāra Vatsarāja, refers[13] to the fact that Śivacandragaṇi, the disciple of *Mahākavi* Devagupta and disciple's disciple of Harigupta, the *ācārya* of Hūna Toramāna, visited Bhinnamāla on pilgrimage. This surely shows that Bhinnamāla or Bhīnmāl (Jalor district) was a great Jain centre from the 7th century, if not earlier. Jinaprabha[14] refers to this place as sacred to Mahāvīra. It was the capital of the Cāpa king Vyāghramukha in the year 628 A.D., as we learn from Brahma-gupta.[15] From a later inscription we learn that Mahāvīra himself came to this city.[16] The kings of the Cāpa dynasty, as we will note afterwards, were great patrons of Jainism. It further appears from the *Kuvalayamālā* that some of the spiritual predecessors of Udyotanasūri were specially connected with Rajasthan. We should further remember that Jāvālipura (modern Jalor) was a very well known Jain centre and the native town of Udyotanasūri. That author further informs us that his work was completed in the Rsabhadeva temple of that city which was also adorned with a large number of Jain shrines. The temple of Rsabha, according to Udyotanasūri,[17] was built by one Ravibhadra. A number of Jain saints, according to the author of the *Kuvalayamālā*, lived in this town. Another place, called Agāsavanā, which was probably situated not far from Jalor, was also adorned with a large number of Jain temples. This place was connected, according to the author, with the activities of Vedasāra, who lived in the 2nd half of the 7th century A.D.

That Jainism was in a flourishing condition in Rajasthan during the days of Vatsarāja is further proved by an inscription,[18] discovered from Osia (Jodhpur district) and is dated V.S. 1013 (956 A.D.). We learn from this inscription that

there was a temple dedicated to Mahāvīra in the extensive city of Ukeśa, which existed during the days of Vatsarāja The temple afterwards had fallen in disrepair and was renovated by a merchant called Jindaka in the year 1013 (956 A D) It is clear from the inscription that the Mahāvīra temple here existed even before the days of Vatsarāja and probably built a century or two before his time It is interesting to note that Jinaprabha, the famous author of the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* mentions Upakesa (Ukesa of this inscription) as a place sacred to Lord Mahāvīra[19] The well known Upakesa *gaccha* apparently derived its name from this place[20]

It was during the days of Vatsarāja in the year Śaka 705 that another Jain poet produced a work of considerable merit. We are referring to Jinasena II, the author of the *Harivamśapurāna*[21] However, there is nothing to show that Vatsarāja himself took active part in the promotion of Jainism He, however, appears to be a person of religious catholicity His personal religion was Śaivism, as we learn from one of the records of his great-grandson Bhoja I[22]

Chronologically the next important Jain record from Rajasthan is the Ghatiyālā inscription[23] of Kakkuka, which supplies the date V S 918 or 861 A D Ghatiyālā is some 20 miles north of Jodhpur city We learn from this record that the chief Kakkuka, who is described as belonging to the Pratihāra family founded a Jain temple in 861 A D, and handed it over to a Jain community of *gaccha* Dhanesvara The same chief also erected two pillars at the village of Rohinīkūpa (probably situated not far from the find-spot of the inscription) The *gaccha*, mentioned here, is otherwise unknown This inscription and the inscription of Osia prove the immense popularity of Jainism in the Jodhpur area from the days of Vatsarāja, if not earlier

Then we must refer to an extremely important inscription,[24] now preserved in the Ajmer Museum It was discovered by Captain Burt and according to local report it was fixed in the wall of a solitary temple, situated two miles from the village of Bijapur in the present Pali district, Rajasthan There are altogether three dates viz 973, 996 and 1053 corresponding to 915, 938 and 997 A D respectively

We learn from this inscription that king Vidagdha, who is described as the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa-kulakānanakalpavṛkṣa,* and who was the son of Harivarman, being induced by his spiritual preceptor (*ācārya*) Vāsudeva, built a temple for the god Jina (Ṛṣabha) at the town of Hastikundī (modern Hathundi close to the village of Bijapur, 10 miles south of Bali) in the year 973 corresponding to 915 A D The king then weighed himself against gold, of which two thirds were allotted to the god and the remainder to the Jain preceptor (viz Vāsudeva) This inscription further mentions the disciple of Vāsudeva called Sūri Śāntibhadra We are then told that the *goṣṭhī* of Hastikundī renovated the temple (of Ṛṣabhanātha), originally built by Vidagdha and after its restoration the image was installed by Śāntibhadra in the Vikrama year 1053 corresponding to 997 A D We further learn that the original grant of Vidagdha, which was made in V S 973 was renewed in the year 996 i e 938 A D by Mammaṭa, the son of Vidagdha This Mammaṭa, as we learn from this inscription, played a very prominent part in the political affairs of Northern India in his time The son of Mammata viz Dhavala is also mentioned in the inscription as having given the gift of a well called Pippala to the temple The *Praśasti* of the first part of the inscription, which was actually inscribed afterwards in 997 A D, according to the epigraph, was composed by the Jain saint Sūryācārya We further learn from the first part that the original image, before restoration, had been set up by certain members of the *goṣṭhī*, whose names are enumerated

The second part of this inscription, which is an independent record, was incised earlier Here one Balabhadra appears as the *guru* of Vidagdha It records that Vidagdha had erected a *caityagṛha* for his *guru* Balabhadra and gave certain endowments in the year 973 Some interesting details regarding the nature of the grant by Vidagdha are given in this part of the record These details are extremely important for the students of economic history[25] Two thirds of these proceeds were to go to the Jina (Arhat) and a third to Balabhadra as *vidyādhana* i e fees for imparting knowledge The closing verse of the second half expresses the wish that these endowments may be enjoyed by the spiritual progeny of Keśavasūri

The inscription, discussed above,[26] not only discloses the names of a number of Jain saints, who lived in the tenth century A D in Western Rajasthan, but also a number of royal personages of this Rāstrakūta branch who actively helped the Jain religion The Jain poet-saint Sūryācārya, the author of the first part of the inscription, was certainly a very accomplished man of letters, as is evident from the language of this inscription These Rāstrakūta kings were not only sincere patrons of Jainism but also successful military generals It is also evident from the inscription that the king Vidagdha, who flourished in the first quarter of the tenth century, had two Jain preceptors viz Balabhadra and Vāsudeva in honour of whom he built two Jain temples His son and successor Mammata also patronised the Jains, a policy followed by the next king Dhavala, who probably became a Jain *Sādhu* before his death The first and the last verse of the first part of the inscription, composed by Sūryācārya, are in praise of the Jina

Several other Jain inscriptions from Rajasthan, belonging to the tenth century A D, have been discovered We should particularly mention the recently discovered[27] epigraph from Rajorgarh (Alwar district) which gives the date V S 979 or 923 A D It discloses the existence of a temple, dedicated to Śāntinātha, which was built by the Jain architect Sarvadeva son of Dedullaka and grandson of Arbhata of the Dharkata family hailing from Pūrnatallaka The ancient name of Rajorgarh, according to this inscription, was Rājyapura[28] Another recently discovered inscription[29] comes from Bharatpur district It gives the date Vikrama 1051 corresponding to 994 A D This inscription refers to a *guru* called Śrī Śūrasena of Vāgata Sangha It is incised on the pedestal of a Jina image[30] Mahāsena, the author of the *Pradyumnacaritakāvya*[31] belonged to this Sangha

A few more Jain inscriptions of Rajasthan before 1000 A D are also known G H Ojha in his monumental work on the history of Rajputana[32] has referred to a damaged, fragmentary inscription of the time of Guhila king Allata, who reigned in the middle of the tenth century A D This Jain inscription was discovered from Ahar near Udaipur, a place still known for its Jain shrines For the reign of Śaktikumāra, another Guhila

prince, who reigned in the last quarter of the tenth century, we have two undated Jain inscriptions[33] also from Ahar

Ojha also refers to a number of other Jain inscriptions found from different old Jain temples of Rajasthan[34] The flourishing state of Jainism in Rajasthan is also evident from an intimate study of the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha who refers to a number of Jain centres of pilgrimage, quite a few of which were situated in Rajasthan We should particularly mention Satyapura, which according to Jinaprabha, was first attacked by the Muslims under Mahmūd of Ghaznī in the Vikrama year 1081 corresponding to 1024 A D The temple according to Jinaprabha was built even before the destruction of Valabhī in V S 845 Satyapura, which Jinaprabha places in Marumandala is the modern Sanchor in Jalor district and is near the Gujarat border The temple of Satyapura was dedicated to Mahāvīra and is also mentioned in a later inscription found from Sanchor[35]

The famous Chitor or Citraflūta, which was the native town of the celebrated Jain savant Haribhadra, who probably flourished a few years before Udyotanasūri,[36] in the middle of the 8th century A D, was another well known Jain centre of pilgrimage Even now Chitor has remains of old Jain temples He belonged to the Vidyādhara *kūla* and was the disciple of Jinadatta[37] His literary activities will be discussed in a later chapter Another Jain savant Elācārya was also probably a native of Citrakūta and was a contemporary of Haribhadra[38] A few years ago a fragmentary Digambara Jain inscription was discovered from Chitor[39]

Let us now turn our attention to the condition of he Jain religion from 600 A D to 1000 A D in Gujarat We have already seen that Gujarat was connected with the activities of Jain monks from the Mauryan period By 600 A D it was firmly entrenched in Gujarat and numerous cities and villages of this state could boast of splendid Jain temples Quite a good number of Jain writers have fortunately mentioned the shrines religion from 600 A D to 1000 A D in Gujarat We have already taken note of the fact that Jinasena II, the author of the *Hari-vamśapurāna*, has referred two Jain temples of Vardhamāna and Dostatikā, both situated in Gujarat The temple of

Vardhamāna (Vadavān) was dedicated to Pārśvanātha and that of Dostaṭikā to Śāntinātha Both these temples were Digambara shrines and were built probably around 600 A D It was at Vardhamāna that another Digambara poet viz Harisena composed his *Bṛhatkathākośa* in 931 A D[40] In the Vikrama Samvat 1361 corresponding to 1302 A D, Merutunga completed his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* at this town[41] This town therefore was well known to both the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras

The great city of Valabhī, which was an important centre of Jainism in the Gupta period, continued its existence till the last quarter of the eighth century A D The city was well known for its celebrated shrine of Candraprabha There was also a famous temple at this great town, dedicated to Mahāvīra We are told in several Jain texts that the famous Jain icons of Valabhī were taken to various other towns before its destruction by the Muslims in 845 V S or 787 A D Jinaprabha[42] tells us that icon of Candraprabha at Valabhī, which was established by Gautamasvāmin, the great disciple of Mahāvīra was transferred to Prabhāsa also known as Devapattana or Śivapattana before 845 V S The confirmation of this account is found in another Jain historical text viz the *Purātanaprabandhasangraha*[43] There is little doubt that the shrine of Candraprabha was established in all probability centuries before it was transferred to Prabhāsa We further learn from the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*[44] and *Purātanaprabandhasangraha*[45] that the icon of Vīra or Mahāvīra was transferred before the destruction of Valabhī to Śrīmāla or Bhīnmāl Some other icons of this town were taken various other Jain holy places including Śatruñjaya

The great Jain saint Mallavādi, according to the Jain tradition was a resident of Valabhī and it was because of his influence that Jainism became popular in Gujarat at the cost of the Buddhists[46] Another town of Gujarat, which was associated with Jainism from early days was Bhṛgukaccha The great Śakunikāvihāra of this town was one of the greatest and most celebrated Jain shrines of Western India Several Jain texts[47] refer to this *vihāra* which was apparently built in the Gupta period A number of Jain works were afterwards written to sing the glory of this *vihāra*.[48] Afterwards some of the greatest

Jains of Western India including Hemacandra visited this vihāra and did everything to beautify it The 8th century Jain commentary viz. the *Vyavahārabhāṣya*[49] describes Bhṛgukaccha as a place sacred to the Jains A recently discovered[50] bronze image inscription from this place refers to the Mūlavasati of Bhṛgukaccha The inscription which is incised on the pedestal of an image of Pārśva has the date Śaka 908 corresponding to 986 A D It refers to a work called Pārśvilla, the disciple of Śīlabhadragani, who belonged to the *anvaya* of Lakṣmanasūri of Nāgendrakula It is apparent from the inscription that the temple called Mūlavasati existed at Bhṛgukaccha in the early mediaeval period

We should then refer to the great Jain centre of Girnar also called Urjayanta We have already taken note of the fact that this hill was associated with the Jain religion from a very early period In the 10th century a great Jain lay devotee called Ratna, hailing from Kashmir[51] donated a golden image of Neminātha to the Jain Sangha here From a very early period it was considered to be a sacred duty for every pious Jain to undertake a trip to this holy hill, believed to the place of Nirvāna of Neminātha Like Girnar, the hill at Palitana in Gujarat, which is known as Śatruñjaya, was considered sacred from a pretty early period However this hill sprang into prominence only after the 10th century A D

The Cāpas of Gujarat, who started their polical career even before the downfall of the Valabhī kingdom, were sincere patrons of the Jain religion Nothing is known regarding the religious leaning of the earliest Cāpa king Vyāghramukha, whose name is disclosed by Brahmagupta and who ruled in 550 Śaka According to the Jain writers Vanarāja of Pañcāsara, who later founded the city of Anahillapura, was the earliest prince of this dynasty But as we have already noted, one Vyāghramukha was a prince of this dynasty and ruled around 628 A D at Bhinnamāla

Several Jain writers have claimed that Vanarāja like Mādhava of the Ganga dynasty was helped by a Jain saint in his attempt to carve out an independent kingdom The *Prabandhacintāmani*[52] distinctly states that Vanarāja was helped in his childhood by a Jain monk named Śīlagunasūri That Jain saint was convinced

from the very beginning that the boy Vanarāja would become in future a *Jinaśāsanaprabhāvaka* i e 'a propagator of the Jain faith'. We are further told by the learned author of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* that the boy Vanarāja was brought up by *Guruṇī* (head nun) Vīramatī The Jain monk Śīlaguṇasūri foresaw from the horoscope of the boy that he was to become a great king Afterwards Vanarāja founded according to Merutunga, in Vikrama Samvat 802 corresponding to 744 A D the city of Anahillapura At first he offered his *guru* Śīlaguṇasūri his entire kingdom which the latter naturally declined to accept Then at the instance of his Jain preceptor, Vanarāja built in the capital a temple dedicated to Pārśvanātha[53] According to an earlier Jain text called *Neminathacariu*[54] written in 1160 A D in the capital of Vanarāja a Jain merchant of the name of Ninnaya built a temple, dedicated to the first Tīrthankara Ādinātha or Ṛṣabha Therefore the combined evidence of the two above-mentioned texts show that Vanarāja was definitely a patron of the Jains and a number of Jain shrines were founded during his reign in his kingdom The account regarding Śīlaguṇasūri's connexion with Vanarāja is confirmed by the *Purātanaprabandhasangraha*[55] It is interesting to note that a Jain inscription[56] of Vanarāja gives the data Sam 802 which is found in the *Prabhandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutunga This proves that the Jain tradition regarding Vanarāja is based on historical facts The temple of Pañcāsara Pārśvanātha is still to be seen at Pattana although it is embellished with later additions The *Prabhāvakacarita* also refers to the concessions given to the *caityavāsi* monks by Vanarāja[57] Nothing practically is known regarding the Jain connexion of Vanarāja's successors However a verse, quoted in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* proves that the Cāpas were patrons of Jainism The translation of the verse runs thus "This kingdom of Gurjaras, even from the time of king Vanarāja, was established with the Jain *mantras* (counsels), its enemies indeed has no cause to rejoice"[58]

Before we start our discussion on the condition of the Jain religion during the successors of the Cāpas in Gujarat, we must turn our attention to the available epigraphic records, discovered from Gujarat, throwing light on the Jain religion The earliest

of such records are the well known Surat plates of Karkarāja Suvarnavarṣa dated Śaka 743 corresponding to 821 A.D. This inscription is an exceedingly important Jain record It not only discloses the names of Jain saints who lived in the 8th century A D in Gujarat but also throws welcome light on the exact condition of the Jain religion at that time

The record opens with a homage to the gospel of Jinendra It runs thus "Victorious is the gracious gospel, propounded by the best of the Jinas, which is perpetual abode of prosperity, which is clear in its entirety, which is based on *Syādvāda* and which brings about beatitude to one with a controlled mind' This inscription records the grant of a piece of land to a Jaint savant of the name of Aparājita, who is described as the disciple of Sumati, and a grand-disciple of Mallavādi[59], belonging to the Sena Sangha branch of the Mūla Sangha According to the Digambara *Pattāvalis* Mūlasangha branched off into three subsections known as Deva Sangha, Nandi Sangha and Sena Sangha[60] This inscription therefore confirms the veracity of the testimony of the *Pattāvalis* We have already noticed in connexion with our discussion of South Indian Jainism that Nandi Sangha was in existence in the Far South even in the 6th century A D It appears that within a few years of the emergence of the Digambara sect it was sub-divided into a number of smaller schools, both in the North and the South

The field which was granted to Aparājita in the year Śaka 743 is described in the inscription as situated near Nāgasārikā (modern Nausari, 20 miles South of Surat) which was one of the greatest cities of ancient Gujarat The grant was made for the purpose of daily worship, cooked rice offerings and repairs and renovation of the monastery (*vasatikā*) which is described as an ornament of Sambapura and was attached to the temple of Arhat situated within the boundaries of Śrī Nāgasārikā There is no doubt that the temple of Arhat at Nāgasārikā, mentioned in his inscription, was built before the 8th century A.D The last two verses of the inscription are in praise of the Jina and the religion preached by him The donor Karkarāja Suvarṇavarṣa was a cousin of the Rāstrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarṣa I and was a feudatory under him in the Gujarat region.

It appears that this branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family like the main branch actively patronised the Jains But at present there is no trace of any Digambara temple at Nausari There is however a Śvetāmbara shrine which was built in the 13th century [61]

Jain inscriptions before 1000 A D are extremely rare in Gujarat We have just now discussed the Surat plates of Karkarāja A few epigraphs of Girnar were probably inscribed before 1000 A D The only other significant Jain inscription is that known as Varunāsarmaka[62] grant dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1033 corresponding to 975 A D It was issued during the reign of Mūlarāja I by his son *Yuvarāja* Cāmundarāja We are told that the latter granted a field for the benefit of a Jain temple at Varunāsarmaka which is identified with Vadasama in Mehsana district of eastern Gujarat The inscription significantly refers to *Jinabhavana,* and *Jinabimba* This shows that the early kings of the Caulukya dynasty of Gujarat were not against Jainism However, we cannot say that all of them were sincere patrons of Jainism However, at least one of the officers of Mūlarāja was a Jain [63] But there is no doubt that Jainism was very popular in Gujarat during the reign of the early Caulukya kings In the next volume of this work we will discuss in greater details the position of the Jain religion in Gujarat after 1000 A D

Let us now turn our attention to Madhya Pradesh, which as we have already noticed, had several influential Jain centres from early times However, it should be remembered that the ruling dynasties of this state did openly favour orthodox Hinduism or Brāhmanical religion The Jain religion, however, was held in esteem by individual kings of different dynasties ruling in this state in our period i e between 600 A D and 1000 A D Let us first take note of the available Jain inscriptions

From the well known Jain temple-complex at Sonagiri (Datia district, M P) has been discovered an epigraph of the seventh century[64] which directly proves the great antiquity of tha Jain centre It refers to a Jain devotee called Vadāka, who was the son of Singhadeva A very good number of Jain temples of quite early period have been discovered from different places

of Madhya Pradesh But not many inscriptions of this period are known Among the few Jain inscriptions from Madhya Pradesh, belonging to our period, the most important is, however, the Khajuraho inscription[65] of the reign of Candella Dhanga dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1011 corresponding to 955 A D It is a carved on the left door-jamb of the temple of Jinanātha at Khajuraho The inscription records a number of gifts in favour of the temple by one Pāhilla, and who is described as held in honour by king Dhanga He is further described in the earlier part of the inscription as endowed with the qualities of tranquillity and self-control and as possessing compassion for all beings A number of gardens are mentioned as gifts to the temple of Jinanātha The inscription further refers to Śrī Vāsavacandra, who is described as the *guru* (preceptor) of Mahārāja, who is no other than Dhanga This inscription, which is the earliest dated Candella record, conclusively proves the tremendous popularity of Jainism in the Candella dominion This is also directly proved by the beautiful Jain temples of the Candella territory including Khajuraho

A few other Jain inscriptions of our period from Madhya Pradesh are also known An inscription[66] near Mandasor refers to Ācāryas Śubhakīrti and Vimalakīrti The script of this inscription is datable to the tenth century A D An earlier Jain inscription[67] from Madhya Pradesh giving the date 875 A D, has also been discovered

From the literary sources we get more meaningful and extensive information regarding the state of Jainism in Madhya Pradesh before 1000 A D The existence of a temple, dedicated to Pārśvanātha at Dhārā the famous capital of the Paramāras, is disclosed by the *Darśanasāra*[68] of Devasena, which was composed in that shrine in Vikrama Samvat 990 corresponding to 933 A D It may be suggested that the ruler of Dhārā at that time was Vairisimha, the father of Harsa Sīyaka of Harsola grant[69] The temple of Pārśva, mentioned by Devasena, was surely a Digambara shrine and probably proves that soon after the foundation of this city, the Digambaras were permitted to build their temples there Remnants of ruined Jain temples

have been noticed at Dhar,[70] the ancient Dhārā The Muslims destroyed both the Hindu and Jain temples there[71]

During the rule of Harṣa Sīyaka the Jains enjoyed great popularity in the Paramāra kingdom A number of Jain writers flourished during his rule and during the reign of his successor Muñja During the closing period of the rule of Harṣa Sīyaka the famous Jain writer Dhanapāla composed his *Pāiyalacchī* in the Vikrama Samvat 1029 corresponding to 1072 A D[72] We are told by the poet that he composed this text for his sister Sundarī at Dhārā From the later works like the *Prabhāvaka-carita* and *Prabandhacintāmani* we learn that his grandfather Devarṣi was originally a Brahmin of Sānkāśya and afterwards migrated to Ujjayinī[73] Dhanapāla, we are told, became a Jain under the influence of his younger brother Sobhana The year in which Dhanapāla prepared his *Pāiyalacchī*, the Rāṣtrakūṭa capital Mānyakheta was ransacked by the army of the Mālava king, From the *Tilakamañjarī*, which was composed during the rule of Bhoja, we learn that he was honoured by king Muñja who conferred upon him the title of Sarasvatī[74] It thus appears that Dhamapāla was an honourable member of the Paramāra royal court during the reign of the three kings viz Harṣa Sīyaka, Vākpati Muñja and Bhoja

Another poet who flourished in the 2nd half of the 10th century during the reign of the Paramāra kings was Mahā-senasūri, belonging to Lāṭavargaṭa Sangha His *guru* was Gunākarasena, who was a disciple of Jayasena From a short *Prasasti* discovered from Kārañjā Jain bhānḍār, we learn that the poet, who was the author of the *Pradyumnacaritakāvya*,[75] was honoured by no less a person than Muñja Afterwards a high official of Muñja's brother viz Sindhurāja became his devotee The name of this high official (*mahattama*) is given as Parpaṭa This proves that not only the Paramāra kings themselves, but also their officials were patrons of Jainism Sindhurāja, it appears ruled for a short time in the closing years of the 10th century[76]

Another Jain who flourished during the time of Muñja was Ācārya Amitagati who wrote his *Subhāsitaratnasandoha* in the Vikrama Samvat 1050 when Muñja was 'ruling the earth'[77]

Afterwards the same Ācārya composed his celebrated *Dharmaparīkṣā* during the reign of Bhoja in the Vikrama Samvat 1070 He belonged to the Kāṣṭhā Sangha The names of his spiritual predecessors are as follows—Vīrasena, Devasena, Amitagati I, Nemiṣena and Mādhavasena[78] The earliest *guru* Vīrasena therefore flourished in the 9th century A D Incidentally the date supplied by Amitagati regarding Muñja is the last known date of that celebrated king[79]

Let us turn our attention to the state of Jainism in Maharashtra after 600 A D We have already seen that Jainism was introduced in this state by the Mauryan period Not many Jain inscriptions of this period from Maharashtra are, however, known But we definitely know that during the rule of the Western Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas Jainism was tremendously popular,- not only in the Lower Deccan, but also in the modern Maharashtra state According to Jinaprabha[80] Tirthankara Candraprabha was worshipped from very early times as Jīvitasvāmin at Nāsika At Pratiṣṭhāna, another old city of Maharashtra, which is identified with Paithan, there was a famous shrine, dedicated to Muni Suvrata[81] Recently an important Jain inscription of the early 10th century A D[82] was discovered from Nasik district of Maharashtra The inscription is incised on three plates which were found from a place called Vajirkheda, four miles east of Malegaon in Nasik district The inscription tells us that at the time of his *paṭṭbandha* ceremony Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nityavarṣadeva (Indra III) who meditated on the feet of his grandfather Kṛṣṇa II (Akālavarṣa), in Śaka 836 (915 A D) granted two villages to a Jain monastery called Amoghavasati and the site of the monastary itself to the preceptor Vardhamāna, who was the disciple of Lokabhadra of Draviḍa Sangha The *gana* and *anvaya* of Vardhamāna were Vīra and Vīrnnāya respectively We are further told that Amoghavasati was situated at Candanāpurī, which is the present Candanpuri situated two miles south of Malegaon It has been suggested[83] that Amoghavasati, referred to in the inscription, was built by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa, who was a great Jain patron, as we will notice in the next chapter It is also quite likely that the emperor Amoghavarsa I himself gave grants to this Jain

temple of Candanāpuri The undated Kalvan plates[84] of the time of Paramāra Bhoja (early eleventh century) show that the Śvetāmbara Jains had their monastery at Muktāpalī in the same Nasik district It is apparent from that inscription that the temple of Suvratasvāmin of that place was built centuries before the time of Bhoja I The record under discussion further shows that the monks, belonging to Dravida Sangha had migrated to Nasik district afterwards Such migrations of Jain monks were quite common in those days, as we will see afterwards

The second part of the same grant registers a gift of six villages to the Jain monastery of Uriamma at the town of Vadanera and the residential monastery itself to the same preceptor Vardhamāna Urianma is a Kannada name for Jvālāmālinī, the *yakṣinī* of Candraprabha The villages which were given away as gift are in the Nasik district and Vadanera is modern Vadner, 15 miles North-west of Malegaon Both the parts of the grant, we are told, were written by the poet Rājaśekhara who is probably to be identified with the celebrated poet of that name The editor of this inscription thinks that probably Rājasekhara after Mahendrapāla's demise, in 910 A D, went to the royal court of Indra III It has further been pointed out that the verse No 2 of the first part of the record is a *mangalaśloka* in the *Pramāṇasangraha* of Akalanka [85]

The inscription, discussed above, not only discloses the existence of two Jain shrines in Nasik district of Maharashtra in the early mediaeval period, but also bears testimony to the fact that this religion enjoyed great royal patronage during the days of the Rāstrakūtas In the next chapter we will have something more to say on this point It further appears that the well known poet Rājasekhara became a Jain during the later part of his life However, in the absence of further evidence, we cannot be dogmatic on this point

The popularity of Jainism in Maharashtra in our period is further proved by the beautiful Jain caves of Ellora, most of which were excavated by 800 A D[86] We will discuss their artistic value in the next volume of this work In the last chapter we had occasion to refer to the spurious Altem copper plates discovered from Kolhapur district of Maharashtra The

inscription proves the existence of a great Jain temple in Kolhapur district in the ancient period The other details, given in this inscription, cannot be accepted, unless otherwise verified However, there is no reason to disbelieve that a feudatory of the Western Cālukyas did not build a Jain temple at Alaktakanagara (Altem) sometime about 600 A D[87]

Several places of modern Uttar Pradesh were directly connected with the Jain religion in our period We should first refer to the celebrated group of Deogarh temples[88] in Jhansi district, situated on the river Betwa (Vatravatī) Probably some of the temples here, were built in the Gupta period but majority of them came into existence only in our period The most important inscription of Deogarh is that of the time of Pratīhāra Bhoja[89] which gives the date both in the Vikrama and Śaka eras The date given in the Vikrama era is 919 and in the Śaka 784, corresponding to 862 A D The inscription has been found in the temple of Śāntināṭha The inscription proves that the shrine of Śāntinātha existed before 826 A D We further learn that Deoghar was known formerly as Luacchāgira It further mentions Mahāsāmanta Viṣnurāma who had the title *pañcamahāśabda* given to him by *paramabhattaruka, mahārājādhirāja, parameśvara* Śrī Bhojadeva The inscription which is incised on a pillar (*stambha*) of the temple further refers to one Śrīdeva who was the disciple of *ācārya* Kamaladeva Anoher inscription[90], which is dated V S 1016 mentions Tribhuvanakīrti, a disciple of Devendrakīrti, who was a disciple of Ratnakīrti of the Sarasvatī *gaccha* of Śrī Mūlasangha Ratnakīrti, therefore, flourished around 850 A D, if not earlier A third inscription[91] of the 9th century A D from this place refers to a Jain *muni* called Nāgasenācārya Another inscription[92] has the date V S 1051 corresponding to 994 A D A very good number of inscriptions from Deogarh belong to the period after 1000 A D, and they will be discussed in the next volume of this work

It should be remembered that Deogarh continues to be a sacred place for the Jains even at the present day The celebrated Viṣṇu temple, belonging to the Gupta period, of this place is undoubtedly the oldest shrine of Deogarh However,

it appears that this place was not known to Jinaprabha, the author of the celebrated *Vividhatīrthakalpa*

Let us now turn our attention to Mathurā, which as we have already seen, had been a great Jain centre from the 2nd century B C, if not earlier In the literary texts, composed in our period, Mathurā is repeatedly mentioned as a celebrated Jain centre The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*,[93] composed in the 8th century, refers to the Jain shrines in residential areas of Mathurā The *Bṛhatkathākośa*[94] of Hariṣena describes Mathurā as *Jināyatanamaṇḍitā* i e 'abounding in Jain temples' This text was composed in 931 A D Jinaprabha[95] informs us that in the Vikrama year 826 corresponding to 768 A D, the great Śvetāmbara savant Bappabhaṭṭi established an image of Mahāvīra (*Vīrabimba*) at Mathurā This is also confirmed by the evidence of the *Prabandhakośa*[96] According to Devasena in the Vikrama Samvat 953 corresponding to 895 A D, Rāmasena established Māthura Sangha at Mathurā[97] This shows that Mathurā continued as a favourite resort for both the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras

A few Jain inscriptions of our period[98] have been discovered from Mathurā which also prove that Mathurā retained its popularity as a Jain centre between 600 A D and 1000 A D However, it should be remembered that the popularity of Jainism at Mathurā gradually diminished in course of time, with the migration of the Jain monks, towards Rajasthan, Gujarat and Karnāṭaka The ruling dynasties of Northern India did not patronise Jainism like the ruling dynasties of the three above-mentioned states This point we will discuss afterwards. For the present, let us turn our attention to some other places of Uttar Pradesh

Several old cities of Uttar Pradesh like Ahicchatra, Kāmpilya, Kāśī, Sānkāśya, Śrāvastī, Kausāmbī etc had Jain centres, and Jina images from these cities of our period have been discovered and they will be discussed in the next volume. A few small Jain inscriptions and images of our period have also been found from different places of Uttar Pradesh[99] In this connexion we should take note of the statement of the author of the *Prabodhacandrodaya*[100], a play written in the 11th

century, that as a result of persecution by the Brahmins, the Digambara Jains and Buddhists fled to Pañcāla, Mālava, Ābhīra and Ānarta We should remember that the play was staged in the court of Candella Kīrtivarman and therefore its evidence has real value[101] There is very great reason to believe that by 1000 A D, Jainism was almost completely eclipsed from majority of places in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa

In the Śvetāmbara Jain works, we are told about the achievements of a great Jain saint of the name of Bappabhaṭṭi, who is described as a contemporary of king Āma of Kanauj, Dharmapāla of Bengal and Vākpati, the author of the celebrated Prakrit poem *Gaudavaho*[102] This great Jain saint, was responsible, according to the Śvetāmbara works, for the promotion of Jainism in different places of Northern India in the 8th century A D However, his chief patron king Āma is not known from epigraphic sources It has been conjectured[102A] that he should either be identified with Nāgabhaṭa II or Indrāyudha-Indrarāja Bappabhatti set up in his lifetime Jain shrines at Mathurā, Gopagiri (Gwalior), Anahillapura and other places[103]. Elsewhere, we are told, that it was due to him that the Śvetāmbaras could regain control over the famous Raivataka hill[104]

Turning now to the extreme Northern part of India we find only a few evidences regarding the existence of Jainism in Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana We have an important inscription[105] from Kangra, Himachal Pradesh, which discloses the names of two Jain saints, belonging to Rājakula *gaccha*, which is probably the same as Rāja *gaccha* A certain Siddharāja is described as a disciple of Sūri Amalacandra, a pupil of Sūri Abhayacandra Siddharāja's son was Dhanga and Dhanga's son Caṣṭaka The wife of Caṣṭaka was Ralhā and the two sons were born of her and both of them were devoted to the law of Jina (*Jainadharmaparāyanau*) The elder was called Kuṇḍalaka and the younger Kumara We are told that they were responsible for the construction of the image (of Pārśvanātha) The date given is Samvat 30 which according to Buhler is equivalent to 854 A D[106] The earliest Sūri Abhayacandra should be placed around 700 A.D

We have already taken note of the fact that one *śrāvaka*

Ratna (Rayaṇa) from Kashmir founded a *manibimba* of Nemināthа[107] in the year V S 990 corresponding to 932 A D on the sacred hill of Raivataka This shows that there were a few Jains in Kashmir in the 10th century A D Kalhana, however, in his *Rājataranginī* has not mentioned the Jains even once However, archaeological evidences[108] at our disposal, prove that Jainism was not entirely unknown in some places of Kashmir However, this religion was looked upon only as one of the minor religious sects in Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana

Recently a few Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jain images, belonging to the 8th and 9th centuries A D, have been discovered from Punjab[109] We have later Jain inscriptions from the Himalayan areas which show that Jainism somehow lingered in those areas till a very late period

In eastern India Jainism maintained its existence till the end of the 10th century A D However, no important Jain inscription has been found from either West Bengal or Bangladesh which can be assigned between 600 and 1000 A D The only Jain record[110] of the Pāla period has been discovered from Bargaon, near Nālandā (Bihar) The inscription belongs to the 24th year of Rājyapāla, who ruled in the first half of the tenth century A D[111] The record is incised on a pillar near a ruined Jain temple and refers to one Vaidyanātha, son of Manoratha of Vaṇikakula However, there is no dearth of Jain images, belonging to the Pāla period, either in Bengal or Bihar Some of these Jain icons will be discussed in the next volume of this work

From Orissa a number of Jain inscriptions, belonging to the post-Gupta period, have been found The earliest of such inscriptions is a Śailodbhava grant, belonging to the 7th century A.D This inscription[112] mentions one Jain *muni* called Prabuddhacandra and his teacher Arhadācārya Nāsicandra This proves the prevalance of Jainism in Orissa in the 7th century A D We have another 7th century inscription[113] found from Ratnagiri hills (Cuttack district) which is a Jain record of four lines in east Indian character of the 7th century A D It refers to the installation of Jain images and points to the existence of

an early Jain esablishment on these hills, which are famous for their Buddhistic ruins.

Two Digambara Jain inscriptions have been discovered from Udaygiri-Khandagiri caves They belong to the tenth century A.D., and were inscribed during the reign of Udyotakesarī of the Kesarī dynasty of Orissa The first inscription[114] discovered in the cave called Lalitendu Kesarī's cave was incised in the 5th year of the reign of Udyotakesarī and refers to the repair of the old Jain temples It also preserves the name of a Digambara saint called Yasanandi It is interesting to note that the inscription refers to the Udaygiri-Khandagiri hills as Kumāraparvata, which reminds us of the Kumārīparvata of Khāravela's record The present writer has been able locate the only literary reference to this hill In the *Bṛhatkathākośa*[115] of Harisena, composed in 931 A D, there is mention of Kumāragiri of Odravisaya It is no doubt the same as Kumāragiri or Kumārīgiri

The second inscription[116] was inscribed in the 18th year of Udyotakesarī s reign and mentions Śubhacandra, the disciple of Kulacandra, belonging to the Desī *gana* and Āryasanghagraha *kula* The Desī *gana* is also known from inscriptions found from different places of Karnātaka and Madhya Pradesh[117] However the *kula* mentioned here is not otherwise known Another inscription found from the same hill refers to the above-mentioned Jain *munis* [118]

These inscriptions prove that Jainism continued to flourish in Orissa as late as the 10th century A D After 1000 A D Jainism gradually became less popular and with the rise of new theistic sects this religion almost completely disappeared from Orissa

The present writer is strongly of the opinion that the famous Somadeva, the author of the *Yaśastilakacampū*, who is also mentioned in an inscription[119] dated Śaka 888, and who is described there as belonging to the Gauda Sangha was originally a Jain saint from Bengal There is no need to suppose the existence of Sangha of this name in Uttar Pradesh [120] We must remember that Jainism was very popular in Bengal Since Bengal was connected with Jainism from early times it is natural to suppose that the Jain monks, belonging to this state, were held

in esteem by monks, belonging to other states of India With the decline of Jainism in Bengal in the 10th century A D, the monks of this state naturally sought asylum in other parts of the country It is also interesting to note that Somadeva in his *Yaśastilakacampū*[121] refers to a Jain shrine of Tāmralipta, the ancient port of Southern Bengal

To sum up, we must repeat that with the exception of Gujarat and Rajasthan and a few select pockets elsewhere, Jainism was fighting a losing battle in Northern India In Rajasthan and Gujarat it was because of the enthusiasm of traders that this religion managed to retain its hold In other parts of India Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism became the dominant religions systems In eastern India the Pālas mainly patronised the Buddhists In central India the kings belonging to Kalacuri, Candella, Cāhamāna, Guhila and other dynasties did practically nothing to promote the cause of this religion In northernmost parts of India, the ruling dynasties did never care for Jainism Kashmir was a citadel of the Śaivas and Punjab of both the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas But in South India, especially in Karnatak the picture was different, and we will now turn our attention once more to the South

NOTES

1 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol I p 123

2 *Ibid*, Vol I p 251

3 *Ibid*, Vol II, p 154

4 *Ibid* Vol II, p 184

5 *Ibid*, Vol II, p 187

6 See *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments Northern Circle*, 1918-19, p 12

7 Watters, *op cit*, Vol II p 154

8 See *J A S B*, 1958 (Vol 24) No 2, 'Some Jain Antiquities from Bankura, by Sm D Mitra

9 See *Jain Journal*, 1969, Vol-IV No 4, see also R D, Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, p 145, see also *Jain Journal*, Vol V, No 1

10 *A S I A R* (Western Circle), 1905-6, p 52, see also *A S I A R.*, 1936 37, p 122

11 *A.S I A R* (W Circle), 1905-6, pp 48 ff

12 *Ibid*, p 50

13 (S J G.M) No 45 (ed A N Upadhye), colophon, VS 6

14 *Vividhatirthakalpa*, p 86

15 Quoted in p 200 fn 1 of *P H N I* by G C Chowdhary

16 *A S I A R* (W Circle), 1906-7, p 39

17 Verses 18-20

18 Bhandarkar, *List* No 72, See also P C Nahar, *Jaina Lekha Sangraha*, Vol I, pp 192 ff, also *A S I A R* 1908-09, p 108

19 P 86

20 See *I A*, Vol 19, pp 233 ff

21 See Chatterjee, A K *Ancient Indian Literary ond Cultural Tradition*, pp 89 ff

22 Bhandarkar, *List*, No 25

23 *E I*, Vol IX, pp 280 f

24 See *J A S B* Vol LXII, Pt I, pp 309 ff See also *E I*, Vol 10,

25 *E I*, Vol 10, p 19, this portion of the inscription also contains some interestisg coin-names

26 See also Ray, H C *D, H N I*, Vol I, pp 560 ff

27 See *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol V, No 16, also *Indian Epigraphy (Annual Report)*, 1961-62, B 128

28 See *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, p 85

29 See *J A S B*, (Letters), 1953, Vol 19, pp 109 110

30 *Loc cit*

31 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā Brhad Itihāsa*, Vol 6, p 476

32 Vol II p 428

33 *Ibid*, pp 434-37

34 See Vol IV, Pt I, p 58, Vol V, Part I, p 63, etc

35 See *A S I A R*, (W Circle), 1906-7, p 36

36 In the colophon of his work the *Kuvalayamālā* Udyotanasūri (VSS 14 15) refers to Haribhadra as one his teachers

37 See the colophon of the *Āvaśyakavrtti* quoted in *The Jaina Sources of the Hist of Ancient India* by K P Jain, p 190 fn 5

38 See Jain, *op cit*, p 188 fn 4

39 See *Indian Archaeology*, 1955-56, p 31

40 Ed A N Upadhye, *praśasti*, VS 4

41 Ed Jinavijaya, *prasasti*, the concluding line

42 See *Vividhatirthakalpa*, p 29

43 Ed Jinavijaya, p 83

44 P 29

45 P 83

46 See *Prabandhacintāmani*, p 107, *Purātanaprabandhasangraha*, p 130 *Prabandhakosa*, pp 21 ff

47 See *Jain sāhitya kā brhad itihāsa*, Vol VI, pp 131, 363, 438

48 See especially the *Sudamsanācariya* by Devendrasūri who composed the text in the 12th century See for further details Jain, J C *Prakrit sāhitya kā itihāsa*, pp 561 ff According to Muni Punyavijaya this text is based on an earlier work, see Jain, *op cit* p 561 fn 1 A detailed account regarding it will be found in the *Vividhatirthakalpa*, pp 20 ff

49 See Jain, J C, *op cit* p 219

50 See *Lalit Kala* (Nos 1-2), 1955-56, plate XII, fig 10A

51 See *Purātanaprabandhasangraha*, p 97

52 P 12

53 *Ibid*, p 13

54 Ed Jacobi, p 152

55 P 12

56 Guerinot, *List*, No 116 see also Burgess and Cousens, *Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (*ASI*, Vol 32), p 45

57 P 136

58 P 13

59 *EI* Vol 21, pp 133 ff

60 See *E R E*, Vol 7, p 474 and also *EI*, Vol 21, pp 133 ff

61 See *EI* Vol 21, pp 133 ff

62 *Bhāratiya Vidyā* Vol I, p 73, also *HIG*, Vol III, No 136A

63 See Majumdar, A K, *Caulukyas of Gujarat*, 1956, p, 32, also *AIOC*, Vol 7, p 1157

64 *Jain Lekha Sangraha* (*MDJM*) Vol V, No 5 also *Indian Epigraphy* (*Annual Report*), 1962-63, B 381

65 See *EI* Vol I, pp 135-36

66 See *Jain Lekha Sangraha*, Vol IV, No 114, also *Indian Epigraphy* (*Annual Report*), 1954-55, p 45

67 See *Jain Lekha Sangraha*, Vol II, No 129 also Cunningham *ASI*, Vol 10, p 74

68 VSS 49-50, quoted in N Premi's *Jain Sāhitya aur itihāsa*, p 175 fn 1

69 *EI*, Vol 19, pp 236 ff

70 See *Prog Report of ASI, N W Provinces* and *Oudh Circle*, 1892-93, pp 21-28

71 *Loc cit*

72 See VS No 276

73 See Premi, *op cit* p 409, see also *Prabandhacintāmani*, pp 36 ff

74 See G C Choudhary, *PHNI* p 88

75 See Premi, *op cit*, p 411 fn 2

76 See *DHNI*, Vol 2, pp 858 ff

77 See Premi *op cit*, p 283

78 *Ibid*, p 278

79 See Buhler in *EI* Vol I, p 228

80 See Pp 53f, also p 85
81 *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, pp 59f
82 See *E I* Vol 38, pp 5 22
83 *Ibid*, p 11
84 *E I*, Vol 19, pp 71 ff
85 *E I*, Vol 38, p 8, also *N I A*, Vol 2, pp 111 ff
86 See *The Classical Age*, p 499
87 For the text of the inscription see *Jaina Śilālekha Saṅgraha*, Vol 2, pp 85 ff
88 See *Jain Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol 8, pp 67-73 See also *Bhārat ke Digambara Jain Tīrtha* (Bhāratīya Jñānapītha), Bombay, 1974, Vol I, pp 179-195
89 *E I* Vol 4, pp 309-10
90 Ins 148 (App to Jain Inscriptions from Deogarh)
91 See *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol 5, No 26
92 *Ibid*, No 20
93 See J C Jain, *Prakrit Sāhitya kā itihāsa*, p 223
94 2 1 see story No 12 where we have an account of the founding of 5 *stūpas* at Mathurā
95 *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p 19
96 P 41
97 See Jain, J C, *op cit*, p 321
98 See *Antiquities of Mathura*, p 53, see also *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha* Vol 2, No 161 Vol 4, No 112
99 See *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol 4, No 116, Vol 5, No 19
100 See Cunningham, *A S I*, Vol 20, p 104
101 See *D H N I*, Vol II, p 695
102 See *Prabandhakośa* pp 26-46
102A *P H N I*, pp 24 ff
103 *Prabandhakośa*, p 41
104 See *Prabandhacintāmani* p 123 *Purātanaprabandhasangraha*, pp 98 f
105 See *E I*, Vol 1, p 120
106 *Loc cit*
107 See *Purātanaprabandhasangraha*, p 97, see *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p 9
108 See *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Deptt Jammu and Kashmir*, 1917-18, p 7, 1918-19, p 3
109 All India Radio News Bulletin, 30 6 1975
110 *I A*, Vol 47, p 111, see also *J R A S B*, 1949, Vol 15, p 7 f and plate I
111 See Majumdar, R C *Hist of Ancient Bengal*, p 124
112 See *E I*, Vol 29, pp 38 ff
113 See *Indian Archaeology A Review*, 1954-55, p 29
114 See *E I*, Vol 13, pp 165 f

115 61 67 (edited A N Upadhye)

116 See *E I*, Vol 13, pp 165 f, see also *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol 4, No 94

117 See *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol 4, *prastāvanā*, pp 7 ff

118 *Ibid*, Vol 4, No 95

119 For the text of this inscription which was originally discovered from Parbhani, Maharashtra see Premi, *op cit*, pp 193 ff, see also N Venkataramanayya, *The Cālukyas of Vemulavāda*, pp 92 ff The other details regarding this inscription will be discussed in the next chapter

120 See Premi, *op cit*, p 184

121 See in this connexion Handiqui, K K, *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture*, p 414

CHAPTER X

Jainism in South India

(600 A D to 1000 A D)

We have already seen that Jainism was more popular in the Southern states than in those of the north Except in parts of Gujarat and Rajasthan this religion was steadily losing ground in other areas of Northern India The picture was somewhat different at least in one South Indian state viz Karnāṭaka, where the ruling dynasties actively befriended it We propose to discuss at first the condition of this religion under the Western Cālukyas, who were the masters of large parts of Southern and Western India for quite a long time

We have already seen that a few of the earlier kings of this dynasty, who ruled before 600 A D, were friendly towards this religion Kīrtivarman I who ruled upto 597 A D, was succeeded by his brother Mangaleśa Recently, a new inscription of his reign has been discovered, which proves the popularity of the Jain religion during his time The inscription[1] is in Telegu-Kannada characters and the language is Sanskrit There are altogether three plates which were found from Hūli, district Belgaum of Karnātaka The inscription is undated but refers to Mangalarāja, who is no other than Mangaleśa of the Badami house and it should therefore be assigned to circa 600 A D. It records a grant of land to a Jain monastery by the Sendraka chief Raviśakti, son of Kannaśakti Hūli continued as a Jain centre for a long time and we have another Jain inscription from this place dated A D 1043[2] This is the second copper plate record of Mangaleśa, the other being the Nerur grant[3]

The Jain religion received a new impetus during the reign of Mangaleśa's illustrious successor Pulakeśin II, the son of Kīrtivarman I. The well known Aihole stone inscription[4] which is dated in the Śaka era 556 and composed by the poet Ravikīrti

is undoubtedly the most important historical Western Cālukya record The inscription was discovered from an old temple at Aihole in Hungund *taluk* of Bijapur district It was composed, according to the poet Ravikīrti, 3735 years after the Bhārata war The record opens with the following words, "Victorious is the holy Jinendra, he who is exempt from old age, death and birth—in the sea of whose knowledge, the whole world is comprised like an island" After describing the exploits of Pulakeśin II and his predecessors, the poet Ravikīrti informs us in verse No 35 that "this stone mansion of Jinenedra, a mansion of every kind of greatness, has been caused to be built by the wise Ravikīrti, who has obtained the highest favour of that Satyāśraya, whose rule is bounded by the three oceans" This Satyāśraya is no other than Pulakeśin II, the conqueror of Harsa The concluding verse is also very interesting It runs thus, "May that Ravikīrti be victorious, who full of discernment, has used, the abode of the Jina, built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme, and who thus by his poetic power, has attained the fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi" There is little doubt that the poet Ravikīrti was not only a sincere and dedicated Jain, but also one of the celebrated men of letters of his time It is evident from the inscription that he was in the good books of the emperor Pulakeśin II, which indirectly proves that the Cālukyan monarch himself had deference and love for the religion of the Jinas It has been suggested[5] that the poet Ravikīrti was a monk of the Yāpanīya Sangha, but there is really no evidence to prove this point[4] But he was surely a Digambara Jain

A long stone tablet, discovered from Lakshmeśvara in Dharwar district has several inscriptions of different dynasties[6] The second part[7] of this record mentions king Satyāśraya and Cālukya Ranaparākramānka and his son Ereya A contemporary of this Satyāśraya was Durgaśakti These kings, who were evidently the feudatories of Satyāśraya, are described as Sendra kings, belonging to the line of Bhujagendras i e Nāga family It records grant of land to the *caitya* of the god called Śankha Jinendra at Puligere (modern Lakshmesvara) According to Fleet[8] the inscription is of early date, repeated here for the sake of confirmation and preservation He further believes

that "Ranaparākramānka is perhaps intended for Ranarāga, the father of Pulakeśin I and son of Jayasimha I" In that case, this inscription is referable to early 6th century A D So far as the Sendra kings are concerned, we have already noted that, they were from the very beginning, patrons of the Jain religion However, the identity of Satyāśraya of this inscription is yet to be solved If this Satyāśraya is Pulakesin I, then the inscription should be taken as a record of the middle of the 6th century A D And we actually know that Pulakeśin I had the titles *Satyāśrava* and *Ranavikrama*[9] That Pulakeśin I himself was a Jain patron is known from the spurious Altem record, which has already been discussed We should further remember that the record, under discussion, was inscribed in the 10th century A D, and possibly represents a later copy of an original copper plate[10] We have already seen that in a genuine copper plate of about 600 A D, a few Sendra kings are mentioned and they bear Śakti-ending names And this inscription also refers to two Sendra kings who bear similar names This probably shows that the contents of the present record cannot be questioned

Another long stone tablet from the same site viz Lakshmesvara has several interesting inscriptions[11] All the records are later copies of original copper plate or stone inscriptions The earliest inscription[12] refers to the reign of Vinayāditya's 5th or 7th regnal year corresponding to 608 Śaka i e 686 A D It records a grant to an *ācārya* of Mūlasangha *anvaya* and Devagana sect The king was at that time stationed at Raktapura Then we must refer to another part of the same stone tablet which is dated in the 34th year of Vijayāditya[13] corresponding to Śaka 651 when he was encamped at Raktapura The village which was given away as grant was situated near the town of Pulikara The donee was his father's priest Udayadevapandita also called Niravadyapandita, who was the home-pupil of Śrī Pūjyapāda and belonged to the Devagana sect of Mūlasangha We are further told that the grant was made for the benefit of the temple of Sankha Jinendra at the city of Pulikara, the present Lakshmeśvara We have already said that the inscriptions of Lakshmesvara are later copies of

earlier records This is the reason why they are looked upon as spurious[14] But there no reason why we should disbelieve their contents The Jain priest Udayadevapandita was surely looked upon with respect by the Cālukyan king Vijayāditya It is apparent from the inscription that Udayadevapaṇḍita was not the immediate pupil of Pūjyapāda but definitely belonged to his *anvaya* It is quite likely that this Pūjyapāda was the well known Jain savant of the same name who flourished a few centuries before the time of Vijayāditya

Then we must mention yet another inscription from the same place[15] It belongs to the time of Vikramāditya II and gives the date Śaka 656 corresponding to 734 A D We are told that in the second year of king Vikramāditya Śankhatīrtha-vasati of the city of Pulikara (Puligere of other inscriptions) and the temple called White Jinālaya were embellished and repaired and that certain land was given for maintaining the worship of Jina It was issued from Raktapura The donee was Vijayadevapaṇḍita who was the disciple of Jayadeva-pandita and the latter of Rāmadeva Ācārya belonging to Mūla-sangha and Devagana There were thus two prominent Jain shrines at this place, one called Śankhatīrtha and the other of the name of Dhavala-Jinālaya It further appears that this Dhavala Jinālaya was then in a dilapidated condition and was badly in need of repair It is interesting to note that in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*[16] Śankha-Jinālaya is mentioned as one of the holy places, connected with the Jain religion This inscription of Vikramāditya II, as Fleet observes,[17] was copied from a previous stone tablet or copper plate for the sake of confirmation and preservation.

Three other inscriptions, belonging to the time of Western Cālukyas, have to be mentioned now The first comes from Dharwar district[18] and it belongs to the 11th year of Vijayāditya and Śaka 630 This copper plate refers to a Jina temple of Puligere, built by queen Kumkumadevī The second,[19] which is more important, also comes from Dharwar district and belongs to the 6th year Kīrtivarman II It therefore corresponds to 751 A D The inscription was discovered from a place called Annigeri situated in Navalgund Tāluk of Dharwar

district The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *cediya* (Jain temple) by Kaliyamma, who was holding the office of the headman of Jebulageri and the erection in front of it of a sculpture by a certain Kondiśularakuppa, whose other name was Kīrtivarma-Gosāsi The latter is clearly the name of his master (*prabhu*) as stated in the last line The writer was one Diśapāla Anoher inscription[20] of the time of Kirtivaman II comes from Adur situated in the Hangal Tāluk of Dharwar district It records some land grants to the temple of Jinendra

Quite a few short label inscriptions have been found from Aihole[21] They have been assigned to the 7th century A D They are engraved on the pillar in the Jain temple close to the Meguti temple at Aihole (the site of Ravikirti's inscription) A few such names are also preserved at Badami and they also are assigned to the 7th century A D[22]

Harişena in his *Brhatkathākosa*[23] refers to one king Vijayāditya of Daksiņāpatha who may be identical with the Cālukyan king of the same name Elsewhere also he refers to the glorious condition of the Jain religion in South India As we have already noted, another South Indian Jain poet Ravişena, who flourished in the 7th century A D, has repeatedly mentioned the prosperity of the Jains in South India

It should not, however, be supposed that the Cālukyans themselves were Jains Majority of their inscriptions prove that they were devout Hindus, strongly believing in traditional form of Brāhmanical religion However, like their predecessors, the Kadambas, they from the very beginning, extended their hand of cooperation to the Jain religion And it should further be remembered that all the Jain inscriptions of the Western Cālukyas of Badami have been found from the state of Karnātaka, which which was so strongly associated with the Jain religion from the early centuries of the Christian era

Let us now once more turn our attention to the state of the Jain religion in the Ganga territory We have already seen that the Western Gaṅga rulers actively associated themselves with the progress of the Jain religion from the days of their

founder We will now briefly examine the Jain inscriptions of this dynasty which were written after 600 A D

Durvinīta was succeeded by his son Muṣkara or Mokkara[24] probably before the end of the 6th century A D A Jain temple was erected in his name at Lakshmeśvara and it was called Mokkara-vasati[25] The erection of this temple proves the extension of the Ganga kingdom in that direction[26] Muṣkara was succeeded by Śrīvikrama, and it appears that both of them had very short reign-periods This is evident from the fact that we have a genuine, dated inscription[27] of Śrīvikrama's son Bhūvikrama which proves that the latter ascended the throne in Śaka 531 corresponding to 609 A D No Jain inscription of either Śrīvikrama or Bhūvikrama is known But we have evidence to show that during the reign of Śivamāra I (670-713 A D), the son of Bhūvikrama, the Jains enjoyed royal patronage An inscription[28] from Kulagāna in Cāmarājanagar Tāluk of Mysore district belongs to his reign The second line of this inscription refers to Mādhava I's indebtedness to a Śramanācārya The king Śivamāra I is here called *Avani mahendra* (line 16) and the lord of whole Pānāta and Punnāta According to this inscription several persons granted lands and home-sites with the approval of the king, who is also called Kongani Muttarasa The king himself also made a grant to the Jain Candrasenācārya, the *kartārar* (manager) of the temple The fact that so many persons contributed for the temple shows that it was an important shrine in this part of Karnātaka The inscription is undated, but there cannot be any doubt regarding its genuineness Śivamāra I, it appears, like many of his predecessors, befriended the Jains openly[29]

The successor of Śivamāra I was Śrīpuruṣa, who was his grandson He had a very long reign extending from 725 A D to the last quarter of the 8th century A D[30] This ruler was a great patron of the Jain religion The well known Devarhalli plates,[31] found from Mysore district, is dated in Śaka 698 (776 A D) and the 50th year of the king's reign The village of Devarhalli is situated in the Nāgamangala Tāluk of Mysore district The inscription refers to a line of Jain *gurus* belonging to Nandisangha of Mūlagana The name of the *gaccha* is given

as Pulikal, which is probably connected with Puligere or Pulikara, the ancient name of Lakshmesvara, famous for its Jain temples The earliest Muni, was Candranandin, who was succeeded by his disciple Kumāranandin, who in his turn was succeeded by Kīrtinandi Ācārya and the latter by Ācārya Vimalacandra The earliest *guru* Candranandin therefore flourished in the middle of the 7th century A D We are then introduced to a line of feudatory kings and the names of two members of this line are given viz Nirgunda *alias* Paramagūḷa The wife of the latter viz Kundācci was the daughter of Maruvarman and her mother was a daughter of the Pallava overlord (*adhirāja*) This lady Kundācci had built a Jain temple called Lokatilaka on the Northern side of Śrīpura (near Gūdalūr which is to the west of Nilgiris) This inscription refers to the grant of the village of Ponnalli for the repair, maintenance etc of this temple There is a long list of other grants made by several persons The inscription was written by Viṣvakarmācārya and the epithet *ācārya* shows that he too was a Jain ascetic According to the last two lines of the grant this gentleman also received some land

There is little doubt that the Jain temple by Kundācci, who had Pallava blood in her veins, was a celebrated shrine of Śrīpura It is quite likely and as the inscription proves, that Śrīpurusa himself took personal interest in the welfare of this Jain temple A stone inscription of 801 A D, belonging to his reign,[32] also indirectly shows his love for the Jain religion The destruction of *basadis* is regarded in that inscription as equivalent to the destruction of Vārānasī Another genuine copper plate inscription of Śrīpuruṣa[33] refers to a grant made to a Jain *caityālaya* This inscription also refers to his successor Śivamāra II This particular record was discovered from Narasimharājapura in Belur tāluk of Chikmagalur district It is incised on five copper plates The inner side of the first plate, the two sides of the second plate and the inner side of the third contains the inscription of Śrīpuruṣa It opens with an invocation of Jina "Victorious is the sole sun of the world, who has witnessed all the worlds and who by the rays of the *Syādvāda* has illuminated the veil of darkness of the other creeds" This inscription, it is interest-

ing to note, also refers to the feat of cutting down a stone pillar on the part of Mādhava I, by order of a Nirgrantha ascetic The inscription surprisingly refers to Śrīpurusa as the son of Śrīvikrama Then the record goes on to say that the chief of his friends Nāgavarma of the Pasindi Ganga family (a new Ganga family), who was anointed as Ganga-rāja, and his sister's brother, a sun in the Kadamba family, named Tulu-ādi, united in making a grant, with pouring of water of the village of Mallavalli, situated in the Tagare country, to the *caityālaya* in the Toḷḷa village, situated in the same country A few gifts are also recorded The first part of the record ends with an obeisance to the Jina This record of Śrīpuruṣa is undated, the editor assigns it to 780 A D[34] The Tagare country is also referred to in an inscription of Kadamaba Bhogivarman[35]

The outer side of the third plate[36] of the inscription from Narasimharājapura contains a Jain record of Śivamāra II According to it when the illustrious Śivamārar was ruling the earth, Vittarasa, a Kadamba chief under him was the governor of Sindanādu 8000 and Tagarenādu 70 This Kadamba chief granted a village called Karimani to the *cediya* of Toḷḷar, apparently the same village, mentioned in the inscription of Śrīpurusa The last two plates contain yet another undated inscription[37] of Śivamāra II It states that while the illustrious Śivamārar was ruling, his maternal uncle Vijayaśakti-arasa granted to the *cediya* of Mulivalli some land, and parts of two villages The same record, contains an account of few other gifts It is interesting to note that a few of the witnesses mentioned in this inscription, are also mentioned in the record of Śrīpuruṣa contained in the first three plates This proves that this inscription of Śivamāra II cannot be far removed from that of his father It is also evident from the second inscription of Śivamāra II that there was another Jain shrine in the same locality

That Śivamāra II was a staunch and sincere patron of the Jains is further proved by two other inscriptions The first comes from Belgaum district,[38] which tells us that he had erected a *basadi* in Kummadavāḍa (modern Kalbhāvi) It is a stone inscription The second is also a stone inscription[39] The epigraph was found on a boulder near Candranāthasvāmin *basadi*

at Śravana Belgoḷa and contains only two words—*Śivamārana basadi* in Kannada. It has been suggested that the Candranātha-svāmin temple was the *basadi* meant in this inscription[40]

There is an important Jain inscription[41] of Yuvarāja Mārasimha, the son of Śivamāra II dated Śaka 719, corresponding to 797 A.D., which was found from Manne in Bangalore district. His father was still alive at that time, but a prisoner in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court. Yuvarāja Mārasimha is here described as ruling the entire Ganga-maṇḍala. "The plates must have been engraved after the father was at liberty and in power for 15 years or so after the grant was made, and probably at that time Mārasimha, the son, was dead".[42] This grant refers to a *senādhipati* (commander) called Śrīvijaya, who is described as holding 'Arhat as supreme' and who built a Jina temple at Mānyanagara (Manne). By this grant a village called Kiruvek-kura was given as gift by prince Mārasimha. It then refers to a line of Jain teachers beginning from Toranācārya of Koṇḍa-kundānvaya. His original home was the village called Śālmalī. His disciple was Puṣpanandin and the latter's disciple Prabhā-candra. The earliest *guru* Toranācārya therefore flourished around 700 A.D. The *śāsana* was written by Viśvakarmācārya, who too was probably a Jain ascetic. Another set of copper plates from Manne[43] gives the date Śaka 724 corresponding to 802 A.D., but this record refers to Prabhutavarsa Govindarāja-deva (Govinda III), the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign, as the overlord. This inscription, although a Jain record, opens with an adoration to Viṣṇu. It further refers to Govinda III's elder brother Ranāvaloka, who had accepted the command of the younger brother Govinda III, and who was at that time the supreme governor of the Ganga territory. We are told that on the applica-tion of the son of Bappayya, who was a disciple of Prabhā-candra (mentioned in the earlier record dated Śaka 719) of Udāragana, living in the Śālmalī village, famous in the Taidat Viṣaya, the king Prabhutavarṣa made a grant for the Jina temple of Mānyapura, built by the victorious ruler Śrīvijayarāja. It appears that this feudatory of the Gangas, after 719 Śaka, had transferred his allegiance to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and apparently was a favourite of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa provincial governor. The grant

was made to "provide for dances, performed by dancing girls, singing, drums, sandal and worship of the god" A full village and a part of another were given as gift This inscription therefore proves that the Rāṣṭrakūtas continued the religious policy of the Gangas in the conquered provinces

Śivamāra II was succeeded in the main line by his nephew Rājamalla I (817-853 A D)[41] His own son Mārasimha, mentioned in the Manne grant of Śaka 719 founded another Ganga line and probably died before his father[45] The younger brother of this Mārasimha was known as Pṛthivīpati and was a staunch Jain This is proved by an inscription from Śravana Belgola We are told that along with his queen, he witnessed the *nirvāna* of the Jain *ācārya* Ariṣṭanemi on the Katvapra hill at Śravana Belgola[46] The king of the main line Rājamalla I was a Jain patron He was the founder of a cave, dedicated to the Jains at Vallimalai in North Arcot district This is proved by a short inscription in Grantha characters found there[47] Rājamalla I was succeeded by his son Nītimārga I (853-870 A D), who is described in the well known Kudlur plates of Śaka 884 of Mārasimha III[48] as a "bee at the lotus feet of adorable Arhat Bhaṭṭāraka" This shows that this king was not only a Jain patron, but a converted Jain himself His another well known name was Ereganggadeva

We should now refer to an earlier Ganga inscription of prince Duggamāra[49], the younger brother of king Śivamāra II, discovered from Hebbalaguppe from Heggadade Vankote Tāluk of Mysore district According to it Śrī Narasingere Appor Duggamāra gave lands to the sowing capacity to the Jain temple (*koyilvasadi*) constructed by the great architect Nārāyana The local inhabitants also donated lands for the temple The approximate date of this inscription, according to the editor, is 825 A D[50]

The next king, in the main line, was Rājamalla II, who ascended the throne, according to the Biliur stone inscription[51] in 870 A D, the Śaka 809 being his 18th regnal year Two Jain inscriptions of his reign are known The first is the above stone inscription from Biliyur, Virajapet Tāluk of Coorg district It is a royal grant of 12 villages, the Biliyur 12, to the Jain monk

Sarvanandideva, disciple of Śivanandi-siddhānta Bhaṭāra for the maintenance of the temple called Satyavākya Jinālaya at Peṇnegadanga Since Rājamalla II bore the title of Satyavākya, the temple appears to have been named after him However, we should remember that a few of his predecessors also bore that title, and the Jain temple, referred to in this inscription, could have been built by any one of them

The second Jain inscription of his reign is the Narasapura inscription[52] dated Śaka 824, corresponding to 903 A D, discovered from Kolar Tāluk of Kolar district One of the plates is missing The inscription was issned on the bright fortnight of Phālguna, an auspicious day for the Jains According to this inscription the king gave a grant for the Jain *basadi* at Konnamangala, erected by Megante-Nandāka Gādeya It also mentions a female disciple called Kamungare Kanti of Uttanandipuri Mandalabhatāra Another Jain *basadi*, built by one Śrīvarmayya is also mentioned in this inscription and for which some land was donated by the king

The younger brother of Rājamalla II viz Būtuga I was also a devout Jain This is proved by the Kudlur inscription, which has already been referred to Here Būtuga, who married a daughter of the illustrious Amoghavarṣa I, is described as a 'devout Jain' This is also confirmed by the Gattivādipura plates dated 904 A D[53]

The next king in the main line was Nītimārga II (907-935 A D) In the Kudlur plates he is called a Jain[54] An inscription of his reign[55] refers to the setting up a tombstone for a Jain teacher named Elācārya, who it is said, lived on water only for one month and expired after a fast of another eight days

After Nītimārga II his two sons Narasimha and Rājamalla III ruled successively for very short period The youngest son Būtuga II also known as Nanniya Ganga ascended the throne around 937 A D In the Kudlur plates he is described as a Jain devotee and we have Jain inscriptions of his reign In the Sudi plates dated Śaka 860, found from Ron Tāluk of Dharwar district,[56] we are told, that the king while he was staying at Purikara during the Nandīśvara festival gratified six female

mendicants with gifts and having washed the feet of Nāga-devapaṇḍita of the holy Vadiyūr *gana* at Sundi gave sixty *nivartanas* of land to the Jain *caityālaya,* built by his wife Divalāmbikā. She is described here as the symbol of manifest goodness through the purity of her accurate perception The Sudi inscription, however, has been declared spurious by Fleet, but Narasimhachar regards it is genuine[67]

A fragmentary stone inscription[68] of Nanniya Ganga i e Būtuga II from Ichāvādi (Shimoga Tāluk, Shimoga district) is a very important Jain record The record is undated The inscription records the the grant of wet fields by the king and his queen to a Jain temple It then refers to a long line of Jain teachers, belonging to Krānura *gana,* beginning from Nandi-bhaṭṭāraka The other names in chronological order are as follows—Bālacandrabhaṭṭāraka, Meghacandra, Gunanandi (described as expert in logic and literature), Śabdabrahma, Akalaṅka (who defeated the Buddhists and Sānkhyas), Meghanandi, Prabhācandra, Śāntakirti, then a few names are erased and then Municandrasiddhāntadeva and then his disciple, whose name is erased It appears that during the time of this unnamed Jain saint the king Nanniya Ganga built the Jain temple The inscription shows that not only Nanniya Ganga himself, but other kings of his dynasty openly favoured the Jains We propose to identify Akalanka of this inscription with the celebrated Jain philosopher of the name, this point will however, be discussed in a later chapter From the Kudlur grant also it appears that Nanniya Ganga was a Jain scholar and defeated the Buddhists in debate[69]

The elder son of Būtuga II viz Maruladeva probably died before his father This prince also was a devout Jain[60] He married the daughter of Rāstrakūṭa Krṣna III His younger brother Mārsimha III probably was a direct successor of Būtuga II

Mārasimha III (960-974 A D) was undoubtedly one of the greatest Jains of the 10th century Several important Jain inscriptions of his reign conclusively prove that he was not only a great Jain himself, but did everything to promote Jainism in Karnāṭaka We must at first refer to the two inscriptions found

from Kadlur (Mandya Taluk, Mysore district), both of which are dated in Śaka 884 The earlier one was issued in December, 962 A D[61] A line of Jain teachers, beginning from Prabhācandra of Mūlasangha and Sūrasta *gana*, has been introduced in this inscription, which consists of three plates. His disciple was Kalaneledeva and this saint was the *guru* of Ravicandra Ravicandra had as his disciple one Elācārya, the donee of this grant Verse 45 and the lengthy passage in prose refer to the gift of the village Kadalur in Kongal-desa made to Elācārya by Mārasimha III for providing the worship and offering to the *jinālaya*, constructed by the mother of Mārasimha called Kallabbā, who was the daughter of Simhavarman Cālukya It is apparent from this inscription that Mārasimha was a loyal feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas He was crowned by Kṛsna III[62] We are further told in this inscription that another purpose of the grant was the worshipping of *sudhācitra* (stucco painting) and *citra* (painting) as well as for the four kinds of *dānas* to the Jain deities and ascetics The king Mārasimha was at that time stationed at Melpāṭi, a place mentioned in an earlier grant of Rāṣṭrakuṭa Kṛṣṇa III[63] The second Jain inscription[64] from Kadlur is dated March, 963 A D, and is one of the most important Jain records of the tenth century This inscription not only shows Mārasimha III as a sincere and devout Jain but also gives additional information about a few of his predecessors, which have already been noticed Mārasimha here is described as one "who washed out all taints with the water of the daily bath of Jina and one who was devoted to the worship *gurus*" We are than told a brief life-history of the Jain saint Vādighanghala, who was originally a Brāhmana of Parāśara *gotra* His first name was Muñjārya His ancestors lived in the Varāṭadesa of the North This gentleman, it appears from the inscription, was a Jain teacher of vast learning and was well versed in Lokāyata, Sānkhya, Vedānta, Bauddha and above all in Jain philosophy. Like a sun he destroyed the mass of darkness, represented by the misleading teachings of other schools, we are told "His eloquence in the exposition of literature made king Ganga Gāngeya Satyavākya, a cuckoo in the grove of delighters of all learning, his pupil" Ganga

Gāngeya was a title of Būtuga II We are further told that he was held in the highest esteem by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign Kṛṣṇa III This great Jain saint is further described as worshipping the "lotus feet of Jineśvara" To this celebrated Brāhmaṇa Jain saint king Mārasimha III in March 963 A D, gave as *śrutaguru's* fee (religious teacher's fee) a village called Bagiyur included in Badagara 300 of the Punātu 6000 in Gangapāti The income of this village was 20 *gadyānas*[65]

A stone pillar inscription[66] of extraordinary importance, regarding the achievements of Mārasimha III, has been discovered from Śravana Belgola It refers to several military feats of this great Ganga king However, we are not concerned at present with those achievements of Mārasimha A crucial passage from our point of view is that which says that "he maintained the doctrine of Jina and erected Jain temples (*Vasati*) and *Mānastambhas* at various places" This passage is enough to show his tremendous zeal for the Jain religion The record closes with the statement that he relinquished the sovereignty and keeping the vow of *sallekhanā* for 3 days in the presence of Ajitasenabhaṭṭāraka, died at Bankāpura in Śaka 896 corresponding to 974 A D[67] We cannot resist the temptation of reproducing the last few lines of this inscription "O Cola king, calm your failing heart by gentle rubbing, O Pāndya, you have escaped slaughter, stay on O Pallava, run not away in fear from your territory, do not retreat, but remain, the Ganga chieftain Nolambāntaka has gone to the abode of gods"

We should now take a brief notice of a very interesting rock inscription[68] found from Gopinātha Guṭṭa in Chik-ballapur Tāluk of Kolar district This is a low hill at the north eastern base of Nandidroog The inscription according to Rice resembles the early inscriptions of the Gangas and should be assigned to the 8th century A D[69] It opens with a homage to Ṛṣabha It refers to the Jain shrine of this hill, which according to it, was formerly built by Rāma in Dvāpara and afterwards rebuilt by Kuntī This Jinendra *caitya* had caves for *Ṛsis* This description, according to Rice, applies to Nandidroog At present the shrine in the spot, where the inscription has been discovered, is dedicated to Gopālasvāmin But the description

of the inscription shows that this place had a very important Jain temple-complex from a much earlier period It can be said with conviction that the Jain temple of this place was one of the earliest shrines of Karnātaka

Let us once more return to the Gangas The successor of Mārasimha III was Rājamalla IV, who had an able minister in the person of Cāmunda Rāya, one of the greatest Jains, Karnāṭaka has ever produced He is the author of the celebrated Kannada work the *Cāmuṇḍa Rāya Purāna*, written in 978 A D In this text we have an account of the twenty-four Jain Tīrthankaras But the greatest achievement of this Ganga minister was the erection of the colossal image of Gommatesvara at Śravaṇa Belgola The date of the execution of this object was about 982 A D[70] We will have something more to say on Cāmuṇḍa Rāya in connexion with our discussion of the inscriptions of Śravana Belgola An earlier Ganga Jain minister had ended his life in *Sallekhanā* fashion at this town We are referring to Narasinga who died about 950 A D, and was a minister of Ereganga or Nītimāra II[71] A few other persons, connected with the Gangas, are also mentioned in some Jain inscriptions from Śravana Belgola For the reign of Rājamalla IV we have a Jain inscription[72] dated Śaka 899 found from Coorg district

The above discussion regarding the state of Jainism during the rule of the Gangas proves that in almost every part of the territory, ruled by the Western Ganga kings, there were Jain shrines Most of these temples gave shelter to eminent Jain saints who were respected by even non-Jains for their pure character and godliness It further appears that some other kings, belonging to contemporary dynasties, were influenced by the religious outlook of the Western Ganga kings

Before discussing the state of the Jain religion during the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūtas, we must briefly discuss its condition during the rule under a particular line of feudatory kings viz the Raṭṭas of Saundatti (Belgaum district, Karnāṭaka) The ancient name of Saundatti was Sugandhavarti This place apparently sprang into prominence in the 9th century A D The earliest inscription[73] from this place is dated in the Śaka year 797 corresponding to 875 A D It refers to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa

Kṛṣṇa as the overlord and it appears that this Kṛṣṇa is no other than Kṛṣṇa II[74] This stone epigraph is found in the present Aṅkeśvara temple at Saundatti The founder of the house was one Mecaḍa, who had a son named Pṛthvīrāma, this gentleman is described as a *mahāsāmanta* under Kṛṣṇa II We are further told that he was a lay disciple of Indrakīrti This Indrakīrti was a disciple of Gunakīrti and the latter of Mūlabhaṭṭāraka of Kāreya *gaṇa* hailing from Mailāpatīrtha It is evident that the earliest preceptor of this line was a resident of Mailāpa Tīrtha In the year 797 Śaka the feudatory king Prthvīrāma granted some land for a Jinendrabhavana (temple dedicated to Jinendra), which was constructed by him at Sugandhavarti It further appears that at his time Pṛthvīrāma was a very insignificant chieftain as his *adhiṣṭhāna* (capital) is described only as a village (*grāma*) in this epigraph From some other inscriptions we further learn that the Kāreya *gaṇa*, to which Indrakīrti and others belonged, was a branch of the well known Yāpanīya Sangha[75]. The language of this epigraph definitely proves that Raṭṭa Pṛthvīrāma was a converted Jain His successors too, as we will see now, were also Jains

Chronologically the next inscription of the Raṭṭas is dated in the Śaka year 902, corresponding to 980 A D This is another stone epigraph[76] from the same temple, it discloses the name of Mahāsāmanta Śāntivarman, who was a grandson of Prthvīrāma At this time, according to this epigraph, Cālukya Tailapadeva i e Taila II was the overlord of this chieftain It appears that the Raṭṭas quietly transferred their allegiance, after the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, to the Cālukyas The Jain temple-complex of this place, it appears, was a family shrine of the Raṭṭas This is the reason why we get the expression *Raṭṭara-paṭṭa Jinālaya* in the introductory part of this epigraph The mother of Śāntivarman also made donations to the Jain temple of this place. The gift was received by the preceptor Bāhubali Bhaṭṭāraka It appears from the epigraph that the earliest preceptor of Bāhubali's line was Ravicandra, who was succeeded by the following—Arhanandin, Śubhacandra, Maunideva and Prabhācandra The earliest *sādhu* Ravicandra therefore flourished in the first half of the 9th century A D There preceptors belonged to the

Kandūra *gana*, which also was a branch of the Yāpanīya Sangha[77]

A few later inscriptions[78] from Saundatti also prove that even after 1000 A D, Jainism continued to flourish in this area The kings of Raṭṭa family throughout their history maintained close relationship with this religion

From Belgaum district we have another very interesting Jain inscription, which on palaeographic grounds, can be assigned to the 7th century A D This inscription is known as Gokak plates[79] and it discloses the name of a king called Dejja Mahārāja, who is described as belonging to the *anvava* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (line 5) The inscription records a gift of 50 *Nivartanas* of land in Jalāragrāma of Kasmāndī *visaya* for the continuous worship of the divine Arhat and for the maintenance of learned Jain ascetics, devoted to the teaching of this religion Ācārya Āryanandin, belonging to Jambūkhaṇḍagana, a savant of exceptional learning, received the gift from king Indrananda, son of Vijayānanda Madhyamarāja of the Sendraka family He is described as a feudatory of Dejja Mahārāja, whose relationship with any known branch of the Rāṣṭrakūtas is not yet known Another intriguing feature of this inscription is its date It is dated in the year 845 of the Āguptāyika kings, the significance of which still remains a mystery If it is equivalent to the era of 58 B C, then the inscription will have to be assigned to the last quarter of the 8th century A D But it is just possible that some era, established earlier,[80] is referred to in this inscription

The Nolamba Pallavas,[81] who ruled after 800 A D, were good patrons of the Jain religion We have two inscriptions before 1000 A D, which prove that the kings of this dynasty extended patronage to the Jains An inscription of Mahendra Nolamba dated Śaka 800 corresponding to 878 A D, records a grant to a Jain temple in Dharmapuri district in present Tamil Nadu[82] The inscription is written in Kanarese language From the compound of the famous Mallikārjuna temple of Dharmapuri has been discovered another Jain inscription[83] of the reign of the same king It is dated in the Śaka year 815, corresponding to 893 A.D This epigraph records a grant to a Jain *vasadi* by two persons called Nidhi-

yanna and Caṇḍiyaṇṇa The former received from the king the village of Mūlapalli, which he made over to Kanakasena Siddhānta Bhaṭāra, the pupil of Vinayasena Siddhānta Bhaṭāra These monks belonged to the Senānvaya of Mūlasaṅgha The particular *gaṇa*, to which they belonged, is given as Pogarīya The revenue of the village was to be utilised for the repair of the temple

Before turning our attention to the State of Andhra we must refer to two famous places now included in Karnāṭaka, which were associated with Jainism from early times The first place is Śravana Belgola is Hassan district, which was associated with Jainism from at least 600 A D The earliest inscription, discovered from this celebrated centre of Jainism, is dated in 600 A D[84] This inscription mentions ancient Jain saints like Gautama Ganadhara, Lohārya, Jambu, Visnudeva, Aparājita, Govardhana, Bhadrabāhu Viśākha Proṣṭhila, Kṛttikārya, Jayanāman, Siddhārtha, Dhṛtiṣena, Buddhila and other teachers It then mentions the fact that Prabhācandra, an eminent Jain divine, attained Samādhi or Nirvāna at Katavapra or Candragiri hill of Belgola After him 700 more saints likewise attained Nirvāna on the same hill It has been suggested that the writing was put on the stone long after Prabhācandra's death The palaeography of the inscription suggests that it was inscribed in circa 600 A D

Quite a few inscriptions, discovered from the same hill, belong to the period between 650 A D and 800 A D They record[85] the Sāmadhi of a few prominent Jain saints including one female ascetic[86] No 11 records the Samādhi of one Ācārya Ariṣṭanemi (c 650 A D) and mentions one king Dindika as witness This king, however, cannot be correctly identified No 21 mentions a monk called Aksayakīrti, who is described as a resident of Southern Madhurā (Madura), which shows that this old city continued as a leading Jain centre even after 600 A D We have already discussed a few historical inscriptions of Śravana Belgola in connexion with the discussion of the state of Jainism during the rule of the Western Gangas A few more will be discussed in connexion with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas

The second Jain holy place of Karnāṭaka was Kopana or Kopbal in modern Raichur district This place has yielded a number of Jain inscriptions which show that from 7th century onward, this place was known as a celebrated Jain Tīrtha It has been suggested that Kopana should be identified with Kung-kan-na-pu-lo of Yuan Chwang,[87] which according to that pilgrim, was situated some 2000 li north of Dravida country The earliest epigraphic reference to this town is found in an inscription[88] of the time of the Bādāmi Cālukya king Vijayāditya, who reigned from 696 A D to 733 A D However, there is nothing in that epigraph to show that it was then considered a Jain sacred place The earliest Jain inscription[89] from this place is dated in the Śaka year 803, corresponding to 881 A D It states that the Jain teacher Sarvanandin Bhaṭāra, a disciple of Ekācaṭṭugada Bhatāra of the Kundakunda lineage, having stayed here and graciously imparted the teachings of the holy doctrine to the residents of the town and after practising austerities for a considerable time, attained final emancipation by the vow *Samnyasana* or *Sallekhanā*

Among other important inscriptions from this place, which were inscribed before 1000 A D, we should refer to the short epigraph,[90] found near Kopbal, mentioning Jatāsimhanandin It has been suggested that this saint should be identified with the Jain poet of the same name and the author of the *Varāngacarita*[91] This sacred place is also mentioned in inscriptions, discovered from other places In an inscription of about 800 A D, of Ganga king Mārasimha Ereyappa there is a reference to a witness named Mādhava of Kuppāl[92] The earliest reference to this Jain Tīrtha in Śravana Belgola inscriptions is to be assigned to 1000 A D[93] A few other inscriptions of that place also contain references to the Jain pilgrims hailing from Kopbal[94]

We must now turn our attention to the condition of the Jain religion in Andhra Pradesh during the days of the Vengī Cālukyas We have already briefly referred to the Musinikonda grant, which was renewed during the reign of Viṣnuvardhana III[95] in the Śaka year 684 corresponding to 762 A D According to this inscription Ayyana Mahādevī, the wife of Kubja Visnuvardhana (624 641 A D), gave a grant

of the village of Musinikuṇḍa in Tonka Natavādi *viṣaya* to the Jain saint called Kālibhadrācārya for the benefit of the Jain temple called Nadumbi-vasati at Vezwada, which was probably built by that queen herself This grant was to be utilised for the purpose of performing uninterrupted *pūjā* of the venerable Arhats The saint Kālibhadrācārya is spoken of as having made the entire circle of kings, obedient to him, by the power of his spiritual knowledge, Aṣṭāngadivyajñāna There is little doubt that this great Jain saint of Andhra was held in special veneration by he queen of Kubja Viṣnuvardhana, the founder of the Vengī Cālukya line We have already commented on his spiritual predecessors, who flourished before 600 A D They belonged to the Kavarūri or Surasta *gana* and Sangha *anvaya*

Chronologically the next Jain record of the Eastern Cālukyas belongs to the reign of Jayasimha II (696-709 A D) This was found on a broken slab near Macherla in Palnad Tāluk of Guntur district[96] It refers to Sarvalokāśraya Jayasimhavallabha and registers a grant of land by Kalyanavasantulu to "Arahanta Bhattāra' The gift was to be maintained by the family of Raṭṭagudis of Komthuru This inscription therefore proves the existence of a Jain temple in this part of Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh in the 7th century A D

A Jain record[97] dated in the 37th year of Viṣnuvardhana III found from Sattenapalle Tāluk of Guntur district refers to a temple of Jain at Munugodu There is also a reference to a Muni called Suvratatīrtha It further mentions that a certain person called Boyugaṭṭa, a servant of king Gonka effected some repairs to this temple, which was built by one Aggoti Another short epigraph in the same stone slab mentions Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Gomkaya, evidently the person of the same name of the earlier epigraph It registers a gift of land to the Sita Jineśvarālaya at Munugoḍu Another inscription of the same slab refers to the gift of land to the *vasadi* called Pṛthivītilaka, evidently a Jain temple, built by an earlier Eastern Cālukya king It also mentions a certain Billama Nāyaka

No Eastern Cālukya Jain inscription, belonging to the 9th century A D, is known We have, however, three Jain inscriptions of the time of Amma II Vijayāditya who ruled in the middle of the 10th century A D[98] The first is known as Maliyapundi grant and the other two Kuluchumbarru and Masulipatnam grants The Maliyapundi grant[99] was originally discovered from Madanur, 10 miles from Ongole, which is now the headquarter of the district of the same name in Andhra Pradesh The inscription opens with a beautiful verse addressed to Jinendra The donee was a Jinālaya called Kaṭakābharaṇa, founded by Durgarāja, an officer of Amma II This temple, according to this inscription was situated to the south of Dharmavuramu (Dharmapurī) in Nellore district, Durgarāja had the designation Kaṭakarāja which suggests that he was a superintendent of the royal camp At the request of this officer king Vijayāditya i e Amma II made a gift of the village of Maliyapūndi for the benefit of the temple in the year Śaka 867 i.e. 945 A D which was the 12th year of his reign This Jain temple was in charge of Śrī Mandiradeva, the disciple of Divākara, and grand-disciple of Jinanandin belonging to the Yāpanīya Sangha, Nandigaccha and Koṭimaḍuvagana The language of the inscription proves that king Amma II himself had great respect both for the Jain temple of this place and Māndiradeva, who was the manager of the temple The preceptor and grand-preceptor of Māndiradeva, who belonged to the famous Yāpanīya Sangha, were evidently very learned Jain ascetics and flourished in the 9th century A D

The second Jain inscription during the reign of Amma II is an undated copper plate record Its findspot is not known The plates are now in the British Museum It registers the grant of a village named Kuluchumbarru[100] in he Attilināṇḍu *viṣaya* to a Jain teacher called Arhanandin, belonging to the Valahāri *gana* and Addakali *gaccha*, for the purpose of providing for repairs to the charitable dining hall of a Jain temple called Sarvalokāśraya Jinabhavana The very name of the temple suggests that it was built by one of Amma II's predecessors, many of whom bore the title *sarvalokāśraya* The grant was evidently made by Amma II, but it was caused to be given by

a certain lady called Cāmekāmbā, who belonged to the Paṭṭavardhika lineage and was a pupil af Arhanandin The later portion of the grant is in Telegu and it records a present made by Arhanandin himself to the writer of the record, whose name was Bhaṭṭadeva Fleet successfully locates the village Kuluchumbarru near the town of Attili in the present West Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh The lady Cāmekāmbā belonged to the Cālukya lineage and was a favourite mistress of the king[101] She is a described as a lay pupil of Arhanandin, who was a disciple of Ayyapoti and the latter of Sakalacandrasiddhānta, who is described as well — versed in the Siddhānta writings This particular inscription definitely shows that both Amma II and his favourite mistress had some soft corner for the Jain religion

The third Jain inscription of the time of Amma II is the undated Masulipatnam grant[102] consisting of five plates, first found from the district court of Masulipatnam or Machilipatnam in Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh The record, it is interesting to note, begins with an invocation to Visnu The king Amma II, however was a *parama-māheśvara*[103] The inscription refers to a Jain pontiff (*ācārya*), the preceptor of two nobles Bhīma and Naravāhana II He was the renowned Jayasena, who bore the surname Nāthasena and was the disciple of the illustrious Candrasena, who is described as well versed in the Siddhānta and who attained proficiency in *parasamaya*, which signifies that his soul became absorbed in the non-self for the liberation of mankind from bondage He was honoured, according to this inscription, by the Śrāvakas, Ksapanakas (Jain ascetics), Kṣullakas (Śrāvakas of high order) and Ajjakas probably meaning educated laymen For the benefit of this celebrated Jain savant Bhīma and Naravāhana II constructed two Jain temples (*Jinabhavana*) at Vijayavāṭikā (Bezwada or Vijaywada) and for that purpose the king Ammarāja himself granted the village of Pedda-Gālidiparru, having converted it into a *devabhoga* and exempted it from all kinds of burden and taxation The village was situated in the Velanāndu *visaya* in modern Guntur district The engraver Jayantācārya too, was probably a Jain The present sites of two Jain temples,

mentioned in this inscription, cannot be properly identified The two chieftains Bhīma and Naravāhana II, according to the editor of the inscription, were Śūdra chiefs, they are further described as devoted to Jinadharma (*Jinadharmaniratacaritrau*)

The above discussion of the Jain inscriptions of the Eastern Cālukya kings abundantly prove that Jainism was in more or less flourishing condition in the eastern districts of modern Andhra Pradesh from 600 A D to 1000 A D Let us now turn our attention to other parts of Andhra Pradesh We should first refer to the Cālukyas of Vemulavāḍa who were great Jain patrons and who ruled in the modern Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, roughly corresponding to ancient Sapādalakṣa country The earliest Jain inscription of the rulers of this feudatory Cālukya dynasty is the Karkyala stone inscription of the time of Arikesarī II (930—958 A D) The importance of this inscription[104], which is inscribed on a hillock called Bommalaguṭṭa at Kurkyala, 13 miles west of Karimnagar, can hardly be overemphasised It refers to a Jain devotee called Jinavallabha, who is described as the brother of the great Jain poet Pampa, the celebrated author of the *Vikramārjunavijaya* also called *Pampabhārata* and the *Ādipurāna* In this inscription the two brothers are described as Brāhmaṇas of Vatsa *gotra* This is supported by the evidence of the *Pampabhārata* [105]

Jinavallabha himself, according to this inscription, constructed a *vasadi* called Tribhuvanatilaka, a tank called Kavitāguṇārnava and a garden called Madanavilāsa The inscription further records the installation by Jinavallabha of the images of the first and the last Tīrthankara i e Ṛṣabha and Vardhamāna at the *vasadi* constructed by him A *caityālaya*, dedicated to the first Tīrthaṅkara, is also mentioned in this connexion Jinavallabha, we are told, used to celebrate the festival of the bathing of Jina at Vṛṣabhādri, the exact location of which has not yet been determined but which is near Dharamvaram. He is further described as the disciple of Jayamgonda Siddhānta Bhaṭāra of the Desiya *gana* and Koṇḍakunda *anvaya*

The same inscription tells us that Jinavallabha's *caityālaya* at Vṛṣabhādri became as famous as the fame of Pampa. He

used to offer food to the Jain ascetics and during the festivals entertained the pilgrims, visiting this shrine King Arikesarī II of Vemulavāḍa, we are told, in this inscription, gave Pampa as a mark of his appreciation of the *Vikramārjunavijaya*, the village Dharmavura,, described as an abode of the Brāhmanas, resembling the famous Kalāpagrāma, as *agrahāra* We are then told "the incredulous who would ask stupidly again and again whether a copper plate inscription has been written, whether the famous Arikesarī had actually granted Dharmavura as *agrahāra* and whether the celebrated Pampa had accepted it, should repair to the Vṛṣabhādri which proclaims the fame of Pampa as well as the greatness of *Jinadharma* and see the letters of the inscription carved thereon and satisfy themselves"

The details given in this epigraph regarding Pampa, tally generally with that given by that poet in his works[106] In this inscription Jinavallabha is described as a devotee of Ādyanta Tīrthankaras i e Rsabha and Mahāvīra and also of Cakresvarī In his *Ādipurāna*, his brother too calls himself a devotee of Vardhamāna Rsabha and Cakresvarī The gift of village granted to Pampa by Arikesarī is also mentioned in the *Vikramārjuna-vijava*[107] We should also remember that Pampa composed his *Ādipurāna* in Śaka 863 corresponding to 941 A D, and his *Vikramārjunavijava* was composed afterwards as it mentions the *Ādipurāna* Therefore the inscription should be placed around 945 A D

Another inscription[108] of the time of Arikesarī II dated Śaka 869, it is interesting to note, contains five verses from the *Vikramārjunavijava* or *Pampabhārata* It has further been pointed out that the site of Pampa's *Samādhi* has actually been referred to in a Sanskrit inscription from Bodhan[109] But this cannot be confirmed at the present state of our knowledge

We have several Jain inscriptions of the Vemulavāḍa kings, bearing the date Śaka 888 corresponding to 966 A D A stone inscription[110] of that date from Repaka (Karimnagar district) introduces a chief named Vijaya, who bears a string of titles and records his gift of land to a *Jinālaya*, built by him. The latter half of this inscription refers to the genealogy of a family of disciples of Jain faith, who were holding a fief comprising

Atukuru 70 and Pammi 12 Some of the members of this family were Kāma, Rāma, Tukkya, Revana, Punyarāma, Kommaya and others Names of a line of Jain ascetics are also given In the end we are told that the *Jinālaya* was built by king Arikesarī, who was probably Arikesarī II A short stone inscription[111] from Vemulavāda states that Baddega, the king of Sapādalaksa, constructed a *Jinālaya* for Somadeva, the chief of Gauda Sangha This Somadeva, as we have already observed, was probably a Jain monk from Bengal, who migrated to the Sapādalakṣa country in the third quarter of the 10th century A D From Parbhani plates[112] dated Śaka 888 of the time of Arikesarī III we learn that a village of the name of Vanikaṭupula was given to Somadeva Sūri, the disciple of Nemideva and grand-disciple of Yasodeva, belonging to Gauda Sangha It also refers to the fact that a Jain temple of the name of Śubhadhāma Jinālaya, built by Arikesarī's father Baddega was under the supervision of this Jain savant, who is further described as the author of the *Yaśodharacarita* i e *Yaśastilakacampū* and *Syādvādopaniṣad* High praise has been bestowed on him for his encyclopaedic knowledge We also learn from this inscription that Arikesarī was a feudatory of Kṛṣṇarājadeva, son of Akālavarṣa, Pṛthvīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Amoghavarṣa This Kṛṣṇarāja is evidently the Rāṣṭrakūṭa overlord Kṛṣṇa III, the celebrated son and successor of Amoghavarṣa III We should remember that Somadeva had completed his *Yaśastilakacampū*[113] during the reign of the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa III on the 13th day of Caitra, Śaka 881 when Kṛsna III was encamping at Melapāṭī after conquering the kings of Pāṇḍya, Simhala, Cola and Cera countries He further states in this work that he was at this time a resident of Gangadharā, the capital of Baddiga, the son of Arikesarī II That Somadeva was a disciple of Nemideva is also known from that poet's *Nītivākyāmṛta*[114] In the *Yaśastilakacampū*[115] Somadeva is described as belonging to the Devasangha, which is probably another name of the Gaudasangha

The two inscriptions, mentioned above, certainly show that the kings belonging to this feudatory Cālukya line, were genuine patrons of Jainism Two great Jain poets of the 10th century

viz Pampa and Somadeva lived in their kingdom and were favoured by them In a later chapter of the present work we will have something more to say on the achievements of these two literary giants

We should now turn our attention to the condition of the Jain religion during the days of the Rāṣṭrakūta kings We have already referred to a few Jain epigraphs where some Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs have been mentioned That the kings of this great dynasty were good patrons of this religion will not only be evident from some inscriptions but also a very good number of Jain literary works, which were completed during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period

No Jain inscription, belonging to the earlier members of the Rāstrakūta family, is yet known But it has been suggested on the basis of a Śravana Belgola inscription dated 1129 A D that Akalanka, the great Jain philosopher, was patronised by Dantidurga [116] The earliest Rāstrakūṭa Jain inscription comes from Śravana Belgola [117] It refers to the reign of Ranāvaloka Kambayya son of Dhruva and elder brother of Govinda III This prince was the eldest son of Dhruva and was the governor of Gangavādi under his illustrious father Dhruva was apparently alive at the time, when this inscription was written He is described here as the son of *Śrīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Mahārāja* The inscription records a grant and proves Kambayya s (Stambha) affection for the Jain religion Though the inscription is undated, we can assign it to the last quarter of the 8th century A D We have already discussed the contents of the Manne plates [118] dated Śaka 724 which also shows that this prince had a soft corner for the Jain religion

Govinda III, the younger brother of Stambha and the successor of Dhruva, who is mentioned as the overlord in Manne plates of his elder brother, was probably an admirer of the Jain religion The Kadaba plates[119] dated Śaka 735 corresponding to 814 A D, and found from Tumkur district of Karṇāṭaka, refers to the reign of Prabhūtavarsa, who is no other than Govinda III This inscription discloses the existence of a line of Jain monks of the Nandī Sangha of the Yāpanīyas The name of the *gana* is given as Punnāgavṛkṣamūla The earliest

ācārya was Śrīkīrti, his disciple was Kuli-Ācārya, then comes Vijayakīrti and the latter's disciple was Arkakīrti The last-named saint, we are told, was successful in removing an evil influence of Saturn on Vimalāditya, who was the sister's son of Cākirāja, the ruler of the entire province of the Gangas It is clear from the inscription that Vimalāditya was a Cālukya chief under Cākirāja, the supreme Rāṣṭrakūṭa governor of Gangavāḍi The grateful Vimalāditya and his uncle Cākirāja were pleased to give an entire village called Jālamangala for a Jain temple at Śilāgrāma, which was on the western side of Mānyapura This Mānyapura was probably identical with the town of the same name mentioned in the Ganga inscriptions Vimalāditya was the son of Yaśovarman and grandson of Balavarman There is absolutely no valid reason to doubt the authenticity of this record Recently another Jain inscription[119A] of the time of Govinda III from Dharwar district has been discovered

The successor of Govinda III viz Amoghavarṣa I, who ascended the throne in 814 A D, was one of the greatest patrons of the Jain religion in the 9th century We have already seen that there existed a Jain shrine in Nasik district, which was named after him We will at first discuss the available Jain inscriptions of his reign and then we will turn our attention to the evidence supplied by the Jain literary texts

From a broken slab found from Ranebennur in Dharwar district has been discovered an important Jain inscription[120] which yields the date Śaka 781 Although the epigraph does not disclose the name of the reigning monarch, it was evidently written during Amoghavarṣa's reign and within his empire The date corresponds to 859 A D The inscription refers to a Jain shrine constructed by one Nāgalūra Pollabe and therefore it was known as Nāgula *vasadi* Lines 12 to the end record the gift of land made as a life-time document (*jīva-śāsana*) for this temple by several villagers The gift, we are told, was received on behalf of the temple, by Nāganandin Ācārya of the Singhavura *gana*

Much more important than the above-mentioned record is the Konnur stone inscription[121] dated Śaka 782 of the reign of the same king The inscription was discovered from a place

called Konnur, which is situated on the south bank of the river Malaprabhā in Nawalgund Tāluk of Dharwar district At present the stone containing the inscription is built into a wall of the local Paramesvara temple Above the writing there are a few sculptures of Tīrthankaras The Śaka date corresponds to 860 A D. The epigraph has altogether 72 lines, of which, lines 1-59 represent the inscription of the time of Amoghavarṣa I. According to this inscription, emperor Amoghavarṣa, while residing at Mānyakheta, at the request of his subordinate Bankeśa (Bankeya) in recognition of the important services, rendered by him, granted the village of Taleyura (line 38) and some land of other villages for the benefit of a Jaina sanctuary, founded by Bankeya at Kolanura to the sage Devendra, who was a disciple of Trikālayogīsa, belonging to the Pustaka *gaccha*, Desīya *gana* and Mūla *Sangha* It is interesting to note that the opening verse of the inscription invokes the blessing of both Viṣnu and Jinendra There is a magnificent tribute in verse No 44 to the doctrine of the Jinas, "Ever victorious, like a royal edict be this doctrine of the Jinas, which destroys the false doctrines of peoples, who are filled with an excessive pride, arising from ignorance which brings about the true happiness of all, who act in obedience to the commands of the wise, which is the place of glory of the excellent Syādvāda by which things appear under manifold forms, and grants the quintessence of good conduct" The date, according to Kielhorn,[122] is absolutely correct But it is a later copy of an original copper plate, according to the inscription itself[123] There is no reason why we should disbelieve this clear statement of the inscription The later porion of the inscription after line 59 refers to the Jain monks who flourished in the 12th century

A number of literary works very clearly prove that Amoghavarṣa I was a converted Jain Gunabhadra, the author of the *Uttarapurāna* and a contemporary of Amoghavarṣa I asserts that his preceptor Jinasena was a *guru* of that celebrated Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch[124] Altekar refers to the fact that Jinasena in his *Pārsvabhyudaya* claims himself to be the chief preceptor (*paramaguru*) of Amoghavarṣa I[124A] But this is impossible, because that poem was written before 783 A D, as it is mentioned

in Jinasena II's *Harivamśa* composed in Śaka 705 And Amoghavarṣa ascended the throne only in 814 A D, and at that time he was a very young lad However, another later writer[125] asserts that the *Pārśvabhyudaya* was composed in the court of Amoghavarṣa That Amoghavarsa was a believer in the doctrine of Syādvāda is also repeated in the *Ganitasārasangraha*[126] of Mahāvīrācārya, who was an exact contemporary of that monarch Amoghavarṣa himself in his *Praśnottararatnamālā*[127] pays homage to Vardhamāna Now, it is definitely known that this work was written by that king[128] However, it should not be supposed that because of his Jain leanings, he was indifferent to Hindu deities That he was a devotee of Mahālaksmi is known from one of the inscriptions[129]

A few contemporary Jain writers have clearly shown their bias for this great Rāstrakūṭa king Śākatāyana, a contemporary Jain grammarian wrote a commentary on his own grammatical work and named it as *Amoghavrtti* This shows his respect for that Rāṣṭrakūta monarch In that *Vrtti* there is a reference to Amoghavarṣa's burning down his enemies (*adahadamoghavarṣo-rātīn*)[130] Jinasena himself is full of praise for this great Rāstrakūṭa monarch[131] Yet another contemporary Jain writer viz Ugrāditya, the author of the medical treatise *Kalyānakā-raka*,[132] which was composed on Mount Rāmagiri, situated in the level plains of Vengī in the country of Trikalinga, refers to the fact that he delivered a discourse on the uselessness of meat diet in the court of Śrī *Nrpatunga Vallabha Mahārājādhirāja*, who is no other than Amoghavarsa I We should also mention the fact that a few verses of the *Kavirājamārga* are in praise of Jina[133] However, in the very beginning of this work, Amogha-varṣa has paid glowing tribute to Visnu, which suggests his equal deference for the Brāhmanical deities It should also be pointed out in this connexion that the two famous Digambara com-mentaries viz *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā* were named after Amoghavarsa I, who was also known as Dhavala and Atiśaya Dhavala

The successor of Amoghavarṣa I was Kṛṣṇa II for whose reign we have the Saundatti inscription dated 897 A D, which has already been discussed Another Jain inscription[134] of his

reign is the Mulgund inscription dated Śaka 824, corresponding to 902 A D Mulgund was a renowned Jain centre and is situated in the Gadag Tāluk of Dharwar district We are told in this stone inscription that during the time of Kṛṣṇa II, his governor Cikārya, son of Candrārya, the governor of Dhavala-viṣaya, and belonging to Varavaisya caste, constructed a lofty temple of Jina at the town of Mulgunda His younger son Arasārya (the brother of Nāgārya) who is described as proficient in the new Āgama (*nayāgamakuśalah*) and a man of great liberality, made an endowment for the maintenance of the *jinālaya*, built by his father (*pitṛkāritajinālayāya*) The gift was entrusted into the hands of he preceptor Kanakasena Sūri, who was the disciple of *munipa* Virasena and who in turn was the pupil of *pūjyapāda* Kumārasena Ācārya of Candikavāta (Candrikāvāṭa), belonging to Senānvaya Kumārasena, Vīrasena etc are also mentioned in the *Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa*[135] and it has been suggested[136] that Kumārasena was the fourth predecessor preceptor from Cāmuṇḍarāya In that case, Kumārasena should be placed in the middle of the 9th century A D

Kṛṣna II was probably the patron of Gunabhadra, the author of the *Uttarapurāna*[136A] This work was completed in Śaka 820 by Gunabhadra's disciple Lokasena in the reign of Akālavarṣa or Kṛṣna II His patron was Lokāditya, who was a governor of Bankāpura in Vanavāsi under that Rāṣṭrakūta king This Lokāditya was a patron of Jainism as we learn from the *praśasti* of the *Uttarāpurāna*[137] Gunabhadra himself claims that Kṛṣna II was his disciple[138] And there is no reason why we should disbelieve it An interesting inscription[139] from Śravana Belgola, which has already been referred to, connects a Jain saint called Paravādimalla with one Kṛṣna Rāja, who has been identified with this Rāṣṭrakūta monarch There is another Jain inscription[140] which mentions Lokāditya (called Lokateyarasa) and his overlord Kṛṣna II This inscription is dated 902 A D and was discovered from Bandalike, ancient Bāndhavanagara in Shikarpur Tāluk of Shimoga district It appears from that inscription that this place was looked upon as a Jain *tīrtha* (sacred place)

The next king Indra III also had some fascination for the Jain religion We have a number of Jain inscriptions of his

reign We must at first refer to the well known Dānavulapāḍu pillar inscription, discovered from Jammalmadugu Tâluk of Cuddapah[141] district, Andhra Pradesh The record is not dated and is partly in Sanskrit and partly Kanarese The first part of the inscription refers to the military prowess of Śrīvijaya, who was a *dandanāyaka* (general) of king Indra III The second part opens with an invocatory clause which proclaims glory to the prosperous doctrine of the Jina It appears from the inscription that Śrīvijaya voluntarily resigned this world and became a Jain ascetic in order to attain eternal bliss This general Śrīvijaya is otherwise unknown From the same place another Jain inscription[142] of a single Sanskrit verse mentioning Nityavarsa or Indra III has been discovered Two other Śrīvijayas are known to Kanarese literature, both of whom flourished long before this Śrīvijaya and both were men of letters[143] This Śrīvijaya also, it is interesting to note, is described in this epigraph as *anupama-kavi*, meaning an accomplished poet The *astavidha karma* referred to in this inscription, consists of *jñānāvaranīya, darśanā-varanīya, vedanīya, mohanīya, āyusya, nāma, gotra* and *antarāya* This Śrīvijaya, it is evident from the inscription, was a very important general of Indra III and was one of the pillars of the Rāṣṭrakūta empire

Another Jain inscription[143A] of the reign of Indra III called Hatti Mattur stone inscription has been discovered from Karajgi Tāluk of Dharwar district, Karnāṭaka This is dated in the Saka year 838, corresponding to 916 A D It records the grant of a village called Vutavura by the *Mahasāmanta* Lenḍeyarasa Afterwards the Jain establishment here was converted into a Saiva temple This is evident from the second part of the record, which was inscribed a few centuries afterwards

In the last chapter we had discussed an important Jain inscription of Indra III, found from Nasik district We should also mention, in this connexion, an inscription from Belgaum district, Karnāṭaka, which states that a Jain saint called Nemi-nātha, the preceptor of Manicandra, was like a moon in the ocean, which was the dynasty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas[144] Evidently this Jain monk was held in highest esteem by the Rāstrakūta

kings of his time The inscription has been assigned to circa 900 A D

For the reign of Govinda IV we have two Jain inscriptions[145] dated Śaka 847 or 925 A D and Śaka 854 or 932 A D, both of which were discovered from modern Karnāṭaka state The first dated Śaka 847, discovered from Gadag Tāluk of Dharwar district, refers to a *jinālaya* built by one Nāgayya[146] It also refers to another *jinālaya* called Dhora Jinālaya at Bankāpura with the preceptor Candraprabha Bhaṭāra as its head It is interesting to note that this Jain priest is described as administering a village called Pasundi (modern Asundi), which probably shows that the village was an endowment of this Jain temple The second inscription dated Śaka 854 or 932 A D, discovered from Adoni Tāluk of Bellary district refers to a Jain temple[147], built by the queen Chandiyabbe, wife of Kannara, the governor (*mahā-sāmanta*) of Sindavādi 1000 We are told that this queen constructed a Jain temple at Nandavara and made suitable provision for its maintenance This inscription also refers to a Jain teacher called Padmanandin It has been suggested that this Kannara is prince Krsna III and at this time he was a governor under his cousin Govinda IV[148] But it is better to regard Kannara of this inscription as a feudatory under Govinda IV

Krsna III was one of the greatest members of the Rāṣṭrakūta dynasty From the holy Kopbal area in Raichur district of Karnātaka we have two inscriptions of his reign The earlier one[149] has been assigned to circa 940 A D and refers to Akālavarsa Kannardeva and he was no other than Krsna III However excepting a reference to Kopana, there is nothing typically Jain regarding this inscription The second inscription[150], which is fortunately dated Śaka 887, corresponding to 964 A D found near Kopbal from a place called Uppina Beṭgiri is a very important Jain record It reveals the existence of a feudatory king of the Rāṣṭrakūtas called Śankaraganda II who erected a Jain shrine called Jayadhīra Jinālaya which was apparently named after him, *Jayadhīra* being one of his titles As noted by Desai, this particular feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūtas is mentioned in several inscriptions of Northern Karnāṭaka[151] That

scholar has also drawn our attention to the fact that this chief is mentioned in the *Ajitatīrthakarapurāṇatilakam*[152] of the Kanarese poet Ranna, who wrote this work in 993 A.D. According to that poet Śankaraganda was a great Jain patron. Therefore, it appears from the combined testimony of these two sources (epigraphic and literary) that this Rāstrakūta governor was a great promoter of Jainism in Karnātaka in the 2nd half of the 10th century A.D. It further appears from the title *Rattarameru* given to him in this inscription that Śankaraganda was of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa extraction. We further learn from this epigraph that another Rāstrakūta feudatory namely Rāṭṭayya, who was of Cālukya lineage, donated some land, for the temple erected by Śankaraganda II, and Nāganandi Pandita Bhaṭāra received the endowment on behalf of the temple. This saint is described here as a disciple of Vinayanandi, who in turn, was a pupil of Śrīnandi of Śūrastha *gana*. From other inscriptions we learn that Śūrastha or Sūrastha *gana* was associated with the Sena *gana* of Mūlasangha.[153]

A few other Jain inscriptions of the reign of Kṛṣṇa III are known. One such inscription[154] has been discovered from Tirumalai hill near Polūr (N. Arcot) in Tamil Nadu, which records the gift of a lamp made to the Yakṣa on the sacred Tirumalai hill by a servant of the queen of Kṛṣṇa III. This hill was associated with the Jain religion from early times. More than a dozen Jain epigraphs and a number of rockcut Jain figures have been discovered from the same hill. The village near this hill, which bears same name, has still a few Jain families.[155] We should also mention another Jain inscription[156] of the time of Kṛṣṇa III, found from Naregal in the Ron Tāluk of Dharwar district. According to this the wife of Ganga Būtuga II called Padmabbarasi, constructed a Jain temple at Naregal, and in 950 A.D., the grant of a tank to the charity house, attached to the temple, was made by a subordinate chief called Namayara Mārasimghayya. The gift was received by Gunacandra, the pupil of Vīranandi, who was a pupil of Mahendra Paṇḍita belonging to the Kondakunda *anvaya* of Deśiga *gana*.

The celebrated Jain poet Somadeva wrote his encyclopaedic work *Yaśastilakacampū* during the reign of this great Rāṣṭrakūṭa

monarch in the Śaka year 881 when that emperor was stationed at Melapāṭi[157] which has been identified with Melpāḍi in N Arcot district of Tamil Nadu The same place is also mentioned in the Karhad plates[158] of Kṛṣṇa III dated Śaka 880 and Karjol inscription[159] dated Śaka 879 We will have something more to say on Somadeva's literary achievements in a later chapter of this volume. Another Jain literary figure namely Indranandi Yogīndra composed his *Jvālāmālinīkalpa*[160] at Malkhed in Śaka 861 during the reign of Kṛṣṇa III

We have a few Jain inscriptions of the reign of Khoṭṭiga, the brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa III An inscription from Chitaldrug district dated 968 A D, mentions the fact that Jakki Sundarī, the wife of Pandayya, a Cālukyan feudatory of Khoṭṭiga built a Jain temple, for which her husband gave a grant.[161] Another inscription, praising the Jain religion, of his reign has been discovered from Dharwar district [162]

The last representative of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was the valiant Indra IV, who unsuccessfully tried to restore the tottering fortune of the empire with the help of his maternal uncle Ganga Mārasimha An inscription from Sravana Belgola[163] dated 982 A D (Śaka 904) shows that he died like a true Jain. This epigraph describes his wonderful skill in playing polo It also bestows lavish praise on him and we are told that as as a believer in the doctrine of Mahāvīra, he never uttered a falsehood

Let us now turn our attention to the state of Tamil Nadu. We have already seen that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in the Southern districts of India from quite early times. In the 7th century also this religion maintained its great popularity in Tamil Nadu This is directly proved by the testimony of Yuan Chwang In all the three southern states of India namely Cola, Draviḍa and Mo-lo-ku-ta (Malakuṭa) he noticed numerous Digambaras and their shrines [164] This testimony from the pen of a person, who was a diehard Buddhist, and who had practically no respect for his religious opponents, is extremely valuable The same pilgrim laments the alsence of Buddhists and the ruined condition of *Vihāras* particularly in countries of South India In the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* of Mahendravarman

I, who was a senior contemporary of Yuan Chwang, we have a veiled yet strong criticism of the Jains[165], which indirectly proves that they were present almost everywhere in his kingdom. We have already seen that the Pallavas were not hostile to the Jains They themselves, however, were Brāhmaṇical Hindus and had special affection for theistic Hindu deities There is also reason to suspect that during the rule of some of the Pallava kings a few overzealous Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava teachers instigated the nobles and the common people against the Jains and Buddhists A few later Vaisnava and Śaiva works gleefully narrate the cruel accounts of the persecution of the Jains[166] There is also reason to believe that Pallava Mahendravarman I himself was a Jain in his early life [167] Let us not forget that his father Simhaviṣṇu was a patron of the Jains However, it is evident from the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* that Mahendravarman I became a Śaiva later in his life According to the Śaiva literary tradition, current in South India, Mahendravarman I became a Śaiva under the influence of Appar, the noted South Indian Śaiva philosopher After his conversion this king became a persecutor of the Jain[168] The earliest Pallava inscription, connected with Jainism, of our period (600-1000 A.D) probably belongs to the reign of Paramesvaravarman I (670-695 A D) This is the Nalajanampadu stone inscription[169] from Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh The Parameśvara Pallavāditya of this record is identified with Parameśvara I and he is described here as meditating on the feet on the supreme master, the Lord Arhat The rest of this Telegu inscription is useless for our purpose

A few Jain Pallava inscriptions of the region of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (730-800 A D) are known A rock inscription[170] from Kīl-Sattamangalam dated in the 14th year of that king, in Wandiwash Tāluk of North Arcot district in Tamil Nadu records an endowment of seven *kalañju* of gold by Aṇḍai Iḷaiyār Pavanandi of the village for feeding ascetics excluding the manager of the monastery There is an imprecation in the concluding part of the epigraph of incurring sin of distroying Kāmakoṭṭam, probably the famous Śiva temple of Kāñcī [171] From the same site two more Jain inscriptions of the reign of the same king have been discovered Both the epigraphs are

dated in the 56th year of Nandivarman II One of them[172] records an endowment of seventeen *kalañju* of gold to a *palli* called Pavanandivar (evidently named after the ascetic who is mentioned in the epigraph of the 14th year) for the merit of Pūndi Muppavai, daughter of Jinadiyār of Vilukkam, which is identified with the village of the same name in Tindivaram Tāluk in South Arcot district The Jain saint Pavanandi may be identified with the person of the same name, the author of the *Nannūl*, a Tamil grammatical text[173]

Another Jain shrine is mentioned in an inscription found from Agalur, Gingee Tāluk of South Arcot district This is dated[174] in the 50th year of Nandivarman II An undated inscription[175] which has been assigned to this king was discovered from Kāñcī in Chingleput district and records the gift to an Arhat temple This epigraph, it is interesting to note, mentions an *ācārya* of Ājīvikadarsana, who probably cured Lokamahādevī, the queen of Narasimhavarman II This proves that the Ājīvikas maintained their separate existence in South India as late as the 8th century

The next Jain Pallava inscription[176] belongs to the reign of Kampavarman, who is identified with Dantivarman,[177] son of Nandivarman II, who ruled in the 1st half of the 9th century A D The inscription is dated in the 6th year of Kampavarman's reign and is found in the same site from where three Jain inscriptions of Nandivarman II have been discovered This is an exceedingly interesting record as it gives us a very clear idea regarding a Jain temple-complex of the Pallava period The inscription records the renovation of the temple (that is the one established by Pavanandi) and the addition of *mukhamandapa* to it the renovation of a *pāli*, the construction of a temple of Yaksī Bhatārī (*Iyakkipadāri*) and the gift of a big bell to the *palli* by Mādevī the wife of Kādagadiyariyar[178] It appears that this entire temple-complex was possibly called *palli* It had a main shrine, dedicated to Jina, with a *maṇḍapa* in front, a subsidiary shrine of Yakṣī and the monastery (*pāḷi*) where the Jain monks lived It is clear from the inscription that in this temple-complex the main shrine and the monastery, which were built some fifty years back, were renovated, while the *mukha-*

maṇḍapa and the shrine for the Yakṣī were added The entire establishment called *paḷḷi* in this record is again mentioned in an inscription from the same site, belonging to the reign of Rajarāja I, dated in his 13th regnal year, which is equivalent to 997-98 A D[179] This *paḷḷi* is there called the temple of Tīrthankara Vimala This epigraph records the sale of land by one Baladevapidāran, a disciple of Śrī Nandidevar for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple At present, however there is no trace of this temple, but there is a temple dedicated to Candranātha in another part of the village

The Nolamba Pallavas, who came into the limelight during the 9th and 10th centuries A D, ruled in parts of modern Karnātaka and were feudatories of the Western Gangas Three inscriptions of the time of Nolamba Mahendra are connected with the Jain religion The earliest epigraph dated Śaka 800, corresponding to 878 A D, discovered from the fort at Dharmapuri, which is the headquarters of the district of the same name in Tamil Nadu records a grant[180] to a Jain temple The second Jain inscription[181] of his reign bears the date Śaka 815 corresponding to 893 A D It records that two citizens called Candiyanna and Nandiyaṇṇa after receiving the gift of the village of Mūllapalli from the king gave it as a gift to Kanakasena Siddhānta, the pupil of Vinayasena Siddhānta of the Pogarīya *gaṇa*, Senānvaya and Mūlasangha for the repairs of the *basadi* at Dharmapuri Even now this place has a few Jain antiquities Dharmapuri was known in ancient times as Tagadūru[182] The village Mūllapalli is now represented by the modern village of Mūlakādu, 9 miles west of Dharmapuri[183] The inscription further informs us that the *basadi* was originally built by two above-mentioned citizens, who are described as sons of the *seṭṭi* of Śrīmangala

The third Jain inscription of Mahendra's reign has been found from Hemāvati in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh This damaged stone inscription[184] records some donations to a local Jain temple by Mahendra and his son Ayyapa Another Jain inscription[185] of this Ayyapa has been found from the same site which contains the second inscription of his father Mahendra It records the fact that Ayyapadeva, presented the

village called Budugūru to Lokāyya, who was the younger brother of Dasayya and who is described as the illuminator of the doctrine of the Arhats And this Lokāyya presented it to the Jain *basadi* built by Nidhiyanna, apparently the same temple, mentioned in Mahendra's inscription of Śaka 815 This stone epigraphs prove that Mahendra and his son were patrons of Jainism The undated inscription of Ayyapa is assigned[186] to the early 10th century A D It should also be pointed that Mahendra's epigraph of Śaka 815 begins with an invocation to Jinendra [187] All the above-mentioned inscriptions are in Kanarese

We should also refer to a Bāna epigraph[188] found from Vallimalai (North Arcot) which records the setting up of an image of Devasena, the pupil of Bhavanandin and the spiritual preceptor of the king The inscription is in Kanarese Grantha characters and may be assigned to the 9th century A D

The Imperial Colas who started ruling from the last quarter of the 9th century A D were Brāhmanical Hindus and mainly patronised theistic Hindu deities like Śiva and Visnu We have however, quite a good number of inscriptions connected with Jainism, belonging to the Cola period, which show that the Jains were present almost everywhere in the vast Cola empire The earliest Jain epigraph of the time of the Imperial Colas belongs to the reign of Āditya I (871-907 A D) and was discovered from Vedal in Arkonam Tāluk of North Arcot district [189] It is incised on a boulder in front of the natural cave known as Āndar-Madam The epigraph records an undertaking given by the lay disciples at Vidal *alias* Mādevi-Arandaimangalam in Śingapura-nādu to protect and feed along with her lady pupils Kanakavīra Kurattiyār a woman ascetic and disciple of the teacher Gunakīrtibhattāraka This epigraph which is dated in the 14th regnal year of Āditya (Rājakesarivarman) further refers to the dispute between 500 male pupils and 400 female ascetics It was evidently a very big Jain establishment It further appears tha the female ascetic, mentioned in this epigraph, was the daughter of an influential person An earlier epigraph from the same site belongs to the reign of Nandivarman II[190], where the Jain temple-complex is called Vidārpalli Mādevi Arandaimangalam, mentioned in the epigraph of

the time of Āditya I, was another name of Vidāl An earlier Jain inscription,[191] dated in the 2nd year of Rājakeśarivarman probably also belongs, to the reign of Āditya I It was found from Tirunagesvaram on the southern bank of the Kāverī It registers gifts made by merchants of Kumāramārtaṇdapuram to meet the cost of repairs to the enclosure called Maunakumāra-mārtandan and the *gopura* of Milādiyarpaḷḷi From another epigraph it appears[192] that Kumāramārtandan was a surname of the Pallava king Nandivarman II

For the reign of Parāntaka I (A D 907-955) we have a number of Jain inscriptions The first epigraph[193] is dated in the third regnal year of Parāntaka I It was found from Toṇdur in Gingee Tāluk of South Arcot district It records the endowment of a village with two gardens and wells as *paḷḷiccandam* to the Jain teacher Vacciraśinga Ilamperumānadigal at Parambūr and his disciple by the chief Vinnakovaraiyan Vayiri Malaiyan We have another Jain epigraph[194] of the same year from Tirakkol in Wandiwash Tāluk of North Arcot district It records a gift of 200 sheeps for the Jain temple called Maisitta Perumbaḷḷi at Śridandapuram in Ponnur Nādu by one Era Nandi *alias* Naratonga Pallavariyam of Nelveli, which is probably situated in Tanjore district[195] The same Jain shrine is also mentioned in another Tamil record of the 10th century[196]

For the 4th year of Parāntaka we have an epigraph[197] from Polur Tāluk of North Arcot district It is incised on a rock at Tirumalai, a hill known for its Jain antiquities We have already taken note of an inscription from this hill of the time of Rāṣṭrakūta Kṛṣna III The inscription of Parāntaka records a gift to the Jain temple of this place by two persons recruited from Karnāṭa country The gift was made for feeding a devotee and for daily offering to Palliyāḷvār i e Jain Tīrthankara The hill was known at that time also as Vaigavūr A somewhat later Cola inscription[198] (dated in the 12th year of Rājendra I) refers to the fact that in the earlier time a Pallava queen had made provision for the burning of a perpetual lamp in the Jain shrine of this hill

An inscription[199] of about 945 A D of the reign of

Parāntaka I found from Viḷāpakkam in North Arcot district refers to the sinking of a well by one nun called Paṭṭini Kuratti Adigal As the very name signifies, she was an eminent lady teacher According to the same source she was a disciple of a saint called Ariṣṭanemi Bhaṭārar of the Jain establishment of Tiruppānmalai We further learn from this inscription that the Jain residents of the place had organised themselves and constituted a representative council of 24 members to look after their interests

A number of Jain inscriptions belonging to the immediate successors of Parāntaka I are known The most important of such inscriptions is the copper plate record[200] from Pallankovil situated in Tirutturaipundi Tāluk of Tanjore district It consists of 6 plates, but unfortunately the plate which contained the name of the reigning king is lost The inscription discloses the existence of a Jain temple (*palli*) founded by Śaletti Kudiyan The name of the shrine is given as Sundaraśolapperumbaḷḷi, apparently named after Sundara Cola, the grandson of Parāntaka I The gift provided for the maintenance of Candranandi Bhaṭāra *alias* Maunidevar of Nandisangha, who most probably presided over the Jain establishment to which male and female ascetics were attached Since the temple was named after Sundara Cola (956-973 A D), it was built in the third quarter of the 10th century A D In this connexion we should also refer to the Udayendiram plates of Hastimalla[201] according to which the Digambara Jains had an ancient *palliccandam* comprising two *pattis* of land which were specially excluded from the gift of the village of Kaḍaikkottūr made in the reign of Parāntaka I

At Śirrāmūr in South Arcot district an inscription of the seventeenth year of a Rājakesari (probably Sundara Cola, 956-973 A D) records the provision of a lamp in the *mandapa* of the temple of Pārśvanātha in which the scripture was expounded[202] So far as the reign of Rājarāja I (985-1014) is concerned, we have already referred to a Jain inscription of his time. We have another Jain inscription[203] of the 8th year of his reign which mentions one Lāṭarāja Vīra Cola, who was a tributary of the Cola king At the request of his wife he assigned to the god Tiruppānmalai certain income derived from

the village Kuraganapāḍi (probably modern Kurambadi, 2 miles east from Pañcapāndavamalai which is 4 miles to the S W of Arcot town) This Cola feudatory is described as a worshipper at the holy feet of the god of Tiruppānmalai The elder sister of Rājarāja I viz Kundavai had strong affection for the Jain religion We will discuss this in the next volume of the present work

Now we should turn our attention to the state of Jainism during the rule of the Pāndyas The earliest Jain inscription[204] of this dynasty comes from Chitaral in the former Travancore state The record in Tamil language and Vatteluttu characters, belongs to the 28th year of the reign of Varaguna I (c 765-815 A D)[205] *alias* Neduñjaḍayan The epigraph belonges to the last quarter of the 8th century A D It records a gift of golden ornaments to the Bhaṭāriyār of Tiruchchāranattumalai, popularly known as the holy hill of the Cāranas, made by the lady teacher Gunandāngi Kuratigal, disciple of Aristanemi Bhaṭāra of Perayakkudi Two more inscriptions of the reign of this king are known and both come from Ramanathapuram district They make mention[206] of Tirukkāttāmpalli, which seems to have been a Jain temple at Kurandai, an important Jain centre[207] at at Venbunādu

We have an important Jain inscription of the reign of Varaguna II, which is also important from the historical point of view This is the Aivarmalai stone inscription[208] found from Palni Tāluk of Madurai district The epigraph is incised above the natural cave on the Aivarmalai hill, so well known for its Jain relics Unlike most of the Pāndyan epigraphs, it yields a definite date viz Śaka 792 corresponding to 870 A D, which according to the epigraph, was the 8th regnal year of Varaguna II. It registers a gift of 500 *kānam* of gold by Śāntivīrakkuravar of Kāḷam, the disciple of Gunavīrakkuravadigal for offering to the images of Pārsva Bhaṭāra (i e Pārsvanātha) and of the attendant Yakṣīs and for the feeding of one ascetic The inscription, therefore indirectly proves that the temple-complex of this hill, dedicated to Pārśva, existed before the date of this inscription. A few other short epigraphs of this hill will be discussed below

Another important Pāndyan Jain inscription is dated in the

20th year of Saḍayan Māran,[209] who is identified by some with Rājasimha II (c 900-920 A D), although Prof Sastri, it appears, believes that he was a different person[210] The inscription was discovered from Uttamapaliyam in Periyakulam Tāluk of Madurai district The epigraph is much damaged but definitely refers to a Jain shrine of this hill, which is known for its Jain antiquities The Pāndyan king Rājasimha II is said to have endowed several Jain temples[211] which proves that he was a Jain patron

Let us turn our attention to some of the epigraphs of Tamil Nadu, Kerala etc which are not connected with any ruling dynasty We have a very early epigraph, which was probably incised even before 600 A D, and which is also important from the palaeographical point of view The epigraph was discovered from Tirunātharkunru[212] in Gingee Tāluk of South Arcot It records the fast unto death (*nisidikā*) in 57 days by Candranandi Āsiriyar The inscription, according to the editor, marks the transition from Brāhmī to Vaṭṭeluttu and it may be assigned to the 6th century A D if not earlier

We should now discuss the activities of a great Jain saint of South India, who did everything to make his religion popular among the masses We are referring to Ajjanandi, who was responsible for fashioning a number of images in different parts of the Southern states of India His name is mentioned in short epigraphs found from Vallimalai in Chitoor district of Andhra Pradesh and from Anaimalai Aivarmalai Alagarmalai, Karungālakkudi and Uttamapaliyam in Madurai district His name is also found in the natural cavern at Eruvādi in Tinnevelly district and near Chitaral in Kerala So the three present states of India viz Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nādu and Kerala were traversed by this great Jain who left no stone unturned to counteract the hostile propaganda of Śaiva and Vaiṣnava fanatics, who were bent upon destroying the religion of Pārśva and Mahāvīra in South India From palaeographical considerations, Ajjanandi should be placed around 800 A D

In an epigraph[213] found from Pechcchi Pallam in Madurai Taluk of Maduari district, Ajjanandi's mother Gunamatiyār is mentioned One of the epigraphs of Kongar Puliyagulam is

actually engraved under the image of that saint,[214] which probably was set up by one of Ajjanandi's disciples, who must have been numerous in the early 9th century An epigraph found from Vallimalai (Chittoor district) shows that the name of his preceptor was Bālacandra[215] It further appears that Ajjanandi was a native of the great city of Madura It has been pointed that this Ajjanandi is to be identified with his namesake, mentioned in the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi*, a Tamil Jain classic[216] Quite a few other Jain saints are also mentioned in the epigraphs found from different Jain sites of South India A few like Indusena, Mallisena etc were probably the contemporaries of Ajjanandi[217] Needless to say, these saints did everything to popularise the message of the Tīrthankaras in South India

NOTES

1 See *Indian Archaeology* (1968-69), *A Review* p 47 and plate LIIB

2 *E I* Vol 18 pp 172 ff see also Desai P B, *Jainism in South India*, pp 117f

3 *I A* Vol 7 pp 161-62

4 See *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains, Bombay Presidency*, p 183 see also *I A* Vol 5, pp 67 ff, and Vol 8, pp 239 ff This important epigraph was afterwards edited by Kielhorn in *E I* Vol 6, pp 1ff See also Kielhorn's *List*, No 10

5 See A N Upadhye's paper in *Journal of Bombay University, Arts and Law* 1933, May, p 230

6 See *I A*, Vol 7, pp 101 ff

7 *Ibid* p 103

8 *Loc cit*

9 See Raychaudhuri, G C *Hist of the Western Cālukyas* (*JAIH*, Vol VII), p 28

10 *I A*, Vol 7, p 103

11 *Ibid*, pp 111 ff

12 *Ibid*, p 112

13 *Loc cit*, see also Kielhorn, *List* No 37

14 See Fleet in *I A*, Vol 30, p 218

15 *I A*, Vol 7, pp 106 f

16 P 86

17 See *I A*, Vol. 7, p 104

18 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46, A-49 See also *Jain Ṣilālekha Sangraha*, Vol IV, No 45

19 *E I* Vol 21, pp 204 ff

20 See Naik, *A List of the Inscriptions of the Deccan*, 1949, No 73

21 See *A R on Indian Epigraphy* B 212-18

22 *A R South Indian Epigraphy* 1928-29 E 101-31 1927-28, E 93-238

23 See 123 2, 146 1

24 See *Mysore Gazetteer* (New edition), Vol II (1930), p 629

25 *Loc cit*

26 *Loc cit*

27 *M A R*, 1925, No 105

28 *Ibid* pp 90 ff, see also *Jain Ṣilālekha Sangraha* Vol 4, No 24

29 See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism* pp 23 f

30 See *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol II, pp 634 ff

31 See *E C* Vol IV, Nāgamangala, No 85 see *Jain Ṣilālekha Sangraha* Vol II, No 121

32 *M A R*, 1933, pp 237-8

33 *Ibid* 1920 pp 27 ff

34 *Ibid*, p 29

35 See *M A R* 1918, para 71

36 Plate XXIA and also p 29

37 Pp 29 f and plate XXI B

38 See Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* etc p 41 see also *Mysore Gazetteer* p 642 and *I A* Vol 18, p 313

39 *E C*, Vol II p 180 (text) also Intod, p 43 see *M A R*, 1911 p 24

40 See *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol II, p 642

41 See *E C*, Vol IX No 60

42 See *ibid* Introd p 4

43 *Ibid* No 61

44 See *Age of Imperial Kanauj* p 160

45 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, p 657

46 *Ibid*, p 650 also *M A R*, 1909 para 45

47 See *E I* Vol IV, p 140

48 See *M A R* 1921, pp 18 ff

49 See *ibid*, 1932, pp 240-41

50 *Ibid* p 241

51 See *E C*, Vol I (Revised edition, 1972), No 96 and Introd, p XI

52 *E C*, Vol X, pp 25 ff (translation) No 90 (text)

53 *Ibid*, Vol XII, p 135

54 See *M A R* 1921, p 22

55 *M A R*, 1914, para 63

56 See *E I*, Vol 3, pp pp 158 ff

57 *M A R* 1921, para 55

58 *Ibid*, 1923, No 113

59 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, p 675, see also *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 161

60 *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, p 676

61 *E I*, Vol 36, pp. 97 ff

62 *Ibid*, p 98, see also *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol II, pp 678 f

63 See *E I*, Vol 4, p 281

64 *M A R*, 1921, pp 18 ff see also plates, X 1-6

65 For this term see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p 108

66 See *E C* Vol II (revised), No 59 and Plate LXIII See also Introduction, pp 44 ff

67 See also *E C*, Vol X, Mūlbāgal, 84

68 *Ibid*, Vol X, CB, 29

69 *Ibid*, Introd pp IX f

70 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, p. 686

71 See *E C*, Vol, II (Revised), No 150

72 See *E C* Vol I (1972), No 98 The date corresponds to 918 A.D, it was issued on Phālguna Nandīśvara day It registers a grant of two villages to Anantavīrya, a disciple of Gunasena-pandita for the maintenance of a Jain *vasadi* at Peggadūr

73 See *J B B R A S*, Vol 10, pp 194 ff see also *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol II, No 130

74 See Altekar, *The Rāstrakūtas and their Times*, p 89 and foot-not 52 Desai following Fleet identifies Krsna of this inscription with Krṣna III, see *Jainism in S India*, p 112 But the date of the record, which is given in words, definitely goes against the view of Fleet and Desai Although, Amoghavarṣa, I, the father of Krṣṇa II was still living, the son was practically the *de facto* king at that time

75 See Desai, *op cit*, p 113

76 See *J B B R A S* Vol X, pp 204 ff

77 Desai, op *cit*, p 113

78 See *ibid*, pp 113 ff

79 See *E I*, Vol 21, pp 291 f

80 For some further details see Desai, *op cit*, p 111

81 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, pp 570 ff, see also *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp 162 f

82 See V Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, 1919, Salem, No 81

83 *Ibid*, No 74

84 See *E C*, Vol II (Revised), No 1, see also *E I*, Vol 4, pp 24 ff

85 *E C*, II, Nos 2-9

86 See No 7 dated circa 700 A D

87 See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* Vol II, p 237

88 See Inscription No 47 in P B Desai's *Jainism in South India* etc, pp 374 f

89 See *Kannada Inscriptions of A P* No 57, see also Desai, *op cit*, pp 339 ff

90 See Desai *op cit*, pp 343 f, No 20

91 *Ibid* p 344 also *Varāngacarita*, Introd, p 22

92 See *E C* Vol 4, Sr 160 p 143 We should also mention in this connexion, the reference to the death of Sukumārasena *Muni* on the hill of Kopana (Kapanādri) mentioned by Cāmundaraja in his celebrated *Cāmundrāya Purāna*, see Saletore, *op cit*, p 193 and foot note 2

93 See *E C* Vol II, p 88

94 *Ibid* Nos, 127 191, 345 and 384 For some further details on this great *Tirtha* see Saletore, *op cit*, pp 187-197, see also Desai, *op cit*, pp 200 ff

95 *A R on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1916-17 copper plate No 16; see also *J A H R S*, Vol 13, pp 185 ff and *The Classical Age* p 253

96 *A R South Indian Epigraphy*, 1941-42, No 18

97 *Ibid*, 1929-30, p 6, Nos 17-19

98 See *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp 137 f

99 See *E I* Vol 9, pp 47 ff, see also Butterworth and Chetti, *Nellore Inscriptions*, pp 164 ff

100 See *E I*, Vol 7, pp 177 ff

101 *Ibid*, p 182, cf the case of Vināpoti, the mistress of Badami Cālukya Vijayāditya (Mahākūta pillar inscription) and Divalāmbikā (Sudi plates of Būtuga)

102 See *E I*, Vol 24, pp 268 ff

103 See *J A H R S*, Vol 13, p 195 and footnote 1

104 See *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol II, pp 21 ff

105 *Ibid*, pp 22 ff

106 *Loc cit*

107 *Loc cit*

108 See No 1 of *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol II

109 *Ibid*, pp 31 ff

110 See *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh* (*Karimnagar district*) ed. P V Parabrahma Sastry, No 5

111 *Ibid*, No 4

112 See *The Cālukyas of Vemulavāḍa*, pp 92 ff, see also N Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya aur itihāsa* pp 190 ff

113 See Premi, *op cit*, p 179 and footnote 1

114 *Ibid*, pp 178 f, and p 179 footnote

115 *Ibid*, p 193

116 *E C*, Vol. II (Revised), No 67

117 *Ibid*, No 35

118 *E C*, Vol IX, No 61

119 *E I*, Vol 4, pp 332 ff also *I A*, Vol 12, pp 11 ff

119A See *A R of Indian Epigraphy*, 1958-59, B-582.

120 See *Karnatak Inscriptions* (1951), Vol II, pp 14-16

121 See *E I* Vol 6, pp 25 ff

122 *Ibid*, p 26

123 *Ibid*, p 25

124 See Premi, *op cit* p 150 fn 4 where the original verses from Gunabhadra s *praśasti* have been reproduced.

124A See The *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p 311

125 See Premi, *op cit* pp 134 f

126 *Ibid*, pp 151 f and footnote 6 in p 151

127 *Loc cit*, see also R G Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, p 95

128 See Altekar, *op cit*, p 411 see also *J B.B R.A S*, Vol 22, pp 80 ff

129 See *E I*, Vol 18, p 248, also Altekar, *op cit*, p 311.

130 See Premi, *op cit*, p 163

131 *Ibid*, p 153

132 See Jain, J P, *The Jain Sources* etc, pp 204 ff., see also *praśasti-sangraha* (pp 56-57) of that text published from Sholapur Premi *op cit*, p 49 (footnote) however, doubts the authenticity of this *praśasti*

133 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 741 (cf verses I 84, 114 and III 5 of that work)

134 See *E I*, Vol 13, pp 190 ff, see also *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol II, No. 137

135 See Desai, *op cit*, pp 134 f

136 *Loc cit*

136A See *JBBRAS*, Vol, 22, p 85, see also Altekar, *op cit*, p. 99

137 See Saletore, *op cit*, p 89, see also Premi, *op cit*, p. 150 fn. 7 where the relevant verse regarding him has been quoted

138 See *JBBRAS*, Vol 22, p 85 and Saletore, *op cit*, p 39

139 *EC*, Vol II, No 67

140 *MAR*, 1911, p 38 see also Saletore, *op cit*, p 207, see also *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha* Vol 4, No 77

141 See *E.I*, Vol 10, pp 147 ff

142 *ASIAR*, 1905-6 pp 121 f According to this inscription king Indra (Nityavarsa) caused the pedestal to be made for the bathing ceremony of Śāntinātha See also V Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1919, pp 589-90 see also C L Jain, *Jain Bibliography* p 199

143 See *EI*, Vol 10, p 149

143A See *IA* Vol 12, pp 224 f

144 *ASIAR* 1928-29, p 125

145 According to some the earlier inscription dated Śaka 847 belongs to the reign of Indra III, see Desai, *op cit*, p. 139 But Indra III, it appears, died in 922 A D, see *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 13

146 See *Bombay Karnātaka Inscriptions* Vol I, Part I, No 34

147 *A R of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1916, App B, No 540 See also Desai, *op cit*, p 149

148 Desai, *op cit* p 149

149 See *Jain Epigraphs* Part III, No 48 in Desai's work *Jainism in South India* etc

150 *Ibid*, No 46

151 See *ibid*, pp 369 f

152 Āśvāsa XII verse 9 see also Desai, *op cit* p 370

153 Desai, *op cit* p 372

154 *A R South Indian Epigraphy*, App B No 65

155 Desai, *op cit* p 42

156 See *Bombay Karnātaka Inscriptions*, Vol I, part I, No. 38

157 For the relevant passage from that text see Premi, *op. ci*, p 179 fn 1

158 See Naik, *A List of the Inscriptions of the Deccan*, 1949, No 173

159 *Ibid*, No 172

160 See Desai *op cit*, p 48, see also *Jainism and Karnātaka Culture*, p 34

161 See *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol II, pp 769-70

162 See *Jain Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol 4, No 87

scholar has also drawn our attention to the fact that this chief is mentioned in the *Ajitatīrthakarapurāṇatilakam*[152] of the Kanarese poet Ranna, who wrote this work in 993 A.D. According to that poet Śankaraganda was a great Jain patron. Therefore, it appears from the combined testimony of these two sources (epigraphic and literary) that this Rāstrakūta governor was a great promoter of Jainism in Karnātaka in the 2nd half of the 10th century A.D. It further appears from the title *Rattarameru* given to him in this inscription that Śankaraganda was of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa extraction. We further learn from this epigraph that another Rāṣṭrakūta feudatory namely Rāṭṭayya, who was of Cālukya lineage, donated some land, for the temple erected by Śankaraganda II, and Nāganandi Pandita Bhatāra received the endowment on behalf of the temple. This saint is described here as a disciple of Vinayanandi, who in turn, was a pupil of Śrīnandi of Śūrastha *gana*. From other inscriptions we learn that Śūrastha or Sūrastha *gana* was associated with the Sena *gana* of Mūlasangha.[153]

A few other Jain inscriptions of the reign of Krsna III are known. One such inscription[154] has been discovered from Tirumalai hill near Polūr (N. Arcot) in Tamil Nadu, which records the gift of a lamp made to the Yaksa on the sacred Tirumalai hill by a servant of the queen of Krsna III. This hill was associated with the Jain religion from early times. More than a dozen Jain epigraphs and a number of rockcut Jain figures have been discovered from the same hill. The village near this hill, which bears same name, has still a few Jain families.[155] We should also mention another Jain inscription[156] of the time of Krsna III, found from Naregal in the Ron Tāluk of Dharwar district. According to this the wife of Ganga Būtuga II called Padmabbarasi, constructed a Jain temple at Naregal, and in 950 A.D., the grant of a tank to the charity house, attached to the temple, was made by a subordinate chief called Namayara Mārasimghayya. The gift was received by Gunacandra, the pupil of Vīranandi, who was a pupil of Mahendra Paṇḍita belonging to the Kondakunda *anvaya* of Deśiga *gana*.

The celebrated Jain poet Somadeva wrote his encyclopaedic work *Yaśastilakacampū* during the reign of this great Rāṣṭrakūṭa

monarch in the Śaka year 881 when that emperor was stationed at Melapāṭi[157] which has been identified with Melpāḍi in N Arcot district of Tamil Nadu The same place is also mentioned in the Karhad plates[158] of Kṛṣṇa III dated Śaka 880 and Karjol inscription[159] dated Śaka 879 We will have something more to say on Somadeva's literary achievements in a later chapter of this volume Another Jain literary figure namely Indranandi Yogīndra composed his *Jvālāmālinīkalpa*[160] at Malkhed in Śaka 861 during the reign of Kṛṣṇa III

We have a few Jain inscriptions of the reign of Khoṭṭiga, the brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa III An inscription from Chitaldrug district dated 968 A D., mentions the fact that Jakki Sundarī, the wife of Pandayya, a Cālukyan feudatory of Khoṭṭiga built a Jain temple, for which her husband gave a grant.[161] Another inscription, praising the Jain religion, of his reign has been discovered from Dharwar district.[162]

The last representative of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was the valiant Indra IV, who unsuccessfully tried to restore the tottering fortune of the empire with the help of his maternal uncle Ganga Mārasimha An inscription from Śravana Belgola[163] dated 982 A D (Śaka 904) shows that he died like a true Jain. This epigraph describes his wonderful skill in playing polo It also bestows lavish praise on him and we are told that as as a believer in the doctrine of Mahāvīra, he never uttered a falsehood

Let us now turn our attention to the state of Tamil Nadu. We have already seen that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in the Southern districts of India from quite early times In the 7th century also this religion maintained its great popularity in Tamil Nadu This is directly proved by the testimony of Yuan Chwang In all the three southern states of India namely Cola, Draviḍa and Mo-lo-ku-ta (Malakuta) he noticed numerous Digambaras and their shrines[164] This testimony from the pen of a person, who was a diehard Buddhist, and who had practically no respect for his religious opponents, is extremely valuable The same pilgrim laments the alsence of Buddhists and the ruined condition of *Vihāras* particularly in countries of Scuth India In the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* of Mahendravarman

I, who was a senior contemporary of Yuan Chwang, we have a veiled yet strong criticism of the Jains[165], which indirectly proves that they were present almost everywhere in his kingdom We have already seen that the Pallavas were not hostile to the Jains They themselves, however, were Brāhmanical Hindus and had special affection for theistic Hindu deities. There is also reason to suspect that during the rule of some of the Pallava kings a few overzealous Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava teachers instigated the nobles and the common people against the Jains and Buddhists A few later Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva works gleefully narrate the cruel accounts of the persecution of the Jains[166] There is also reason to believe that Pallava Mahendravarman I himself was a Jain in his early life[167] Let us not forget that his father Simhaviṣṇu was a patron of the Jains However, it is evident from the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* that Mahendravarman I became a Śaiva later in his life According to the Śaiva literary tradition, current in South India, Mahendravarman I became a Śaiva under the influence of Appar, the noted South Indian Śaiva philosopher After his conversion this king became a persecutor of the Jain[168] The earliest Pallava inscription, connected with Jainism, of our period (600-1000 A.D) probably belongs to the reign of Paramesvaravarman I (670-695 A.D) This is the Nalajanampadu stone inscription[169] from Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh The Parameśvara Pallavādītya of this record is identified with Parameśvara I and he is described here as meditating on the feet on the supreme master, the Lord Arhat The rest of this Telegu inscription is useless for our purpose

A few Jain Pallava inscriptions of the region of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (730-800 A.D) are known A rock inscription[170] from Kīl-Sattamangalam dated in the 14th year of that king, in Wandiwash Tāluk of North Arcot district in Tamil Nadu records an endowment of seven *kalañju* of gold by Andai Iḷaiyār Pavanandi of the village for feeding ascetics excluding the manager of the monastery There is an imprecation in the concluding part of the epigraph of incurring sin of distroying Kāmakoṭṭam, probably the famous Śiva temple of Kāñcī[171] From the same site two more Jain inscriptions of the reign of the same king have been discovered. Both the epigraphs are

dated in the 56th year of Nandivarman II One of them[172] records an endowment of seventeen *kalañju* of gold to a *paḷḷi* called Pavanandivar (evidently named after the ascetic who is mentioned in the epigraph of the 14th year) for the merit of Pūṇḍi Muppavai, daughter of Jinadiyār of Vilukkam, which is identified with the village of the same name in Tindivaram Tāluk in South Arcot district. The Jain saint Pavanandi may be identified with the person of the same name, the author of the *Nannūl*, a Tamil grammatical text[173]

Another Jain shrine is mentioned in an inscription found from Agalur, Gingee Tāluk of South Arcot district This is dated[174] in the 50th year of Nandivarman II An undated inscription[175] which has been assigned to this king was discovered from Kāñcī in Chingleput district and records the gift to an Arhat temple This epigraph, it is interesting to note, mentions an *ācārya* of Ājīvikadarsana, who probably cured Lokamahādevī, the queen of Narasimhavarman II This proves that the Ājīvikas maintained their separate existence in South India as late as the 8th century

The next Jain Pallava inscription[176] belongs to the reign of Kampavarman, who is identified with Dantivarman,[177] son of Nandivarman II, who ruled in the 1st half of the 9th century A D The inscription is dated in the 6th year of Kampavarman's reign and is found in the same site from where three Jain inscriptions of Nandivarman II have been discovered This is an exceedingly interesting record as it gives us a very clear idea regarding a Jain temple-complex of the Pallava period The inscription records the renovation of the temple (that is the one established by Pavanandi) and the addition of *mukhamandapa* to it, the renovation of a *pāḷi*, the construction of a temple of Yakṣī Bhaṭāri (*Iyakkipadāri*) and the gift of a big bell to the *paḷḷi* by Mādevī, the wife of Kādagadiyariyar[178] It appears that this entire temple-complex was possibly called *paḷḷi* It had a main shrine, dedicated to Jina, with a *maṇḍapa* in front, a subsidiary shrine of Yakṣī and the monastery (*pāḷi*) where the Jain monks lived It is clear from the inscription that in this temple-complex the main shrine and the monastery, which were built some fifty years back, were renovated, while the *mukha-*

maṇḍapa and the shrine for the Yakṣī were added The entire establishment called *paḷḷi* in this record is again mentioned in an inscription from the same site, belonging to the reign of Rājarāja I, dated in his 13th regnal year, which is equivalent to 997-98 A.D.[179] This *paḷḷi* is there called the temple of Tīrthankara Vimala This epigraph records the sale of land by one Baladevapidāran, a disciple of Śrī Nandidevar for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple At present, however there is no trace of this temple, but there is a temple dedicated to Candranātha in another part of the village

The Nolamba Pallavas, who came into the limelight during the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., ruled in parts of modern Karnāṭaka and were feudatories of the Western Gangas Three inscriptions of the time of Nolamba Mahendra are connected with the Jain religion The earliest epigraph dated Śaka 800, corresponding to 878 A.D., discovered from the fort at Dharmapuri, which is the headquarters of the district of the same name in Tamil Nadu records a grant[180] to a Jain temple The second Jain inscription[181] of his reign bears the date Śaka 815 corresponding to 893 A.D. It records that two citizens called Candiyanna and Nandiyanna after receiving the gift of the village of Mūllapalli from the king gave it as a gift to Kanakasena Siddhānta the pupil of Vinayasena Siddhānta of the Pogarīya *gaṇa*, Senānvaya and Mūlasangha for the repairs of the *basadi* at Dharmapuri Even now this place has a few Jain antiquities Dharmapuri was known in ancient times as Tagadūru[182] The village Mūllapalli is now represented by the modern village of Mūlakādu, 9 miles west of Dharmapuri.[183] The inscription further informs us that the *basadi* was originally built by two above-mentioned citizens who are described as sons of the *setti* of Śrīmangala

The third Jain inscription of Mahendra's reign has been found from Hemāvati in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh This damaged stone inscription[184] records some donations to a local Jain temple by Mahendra and his son Ayyapa Another Jain inscription[185] of this Ayyapa has been found from the same site which contains the second inscription of his father Mahendra It records the fact that Ayyapadeva, presented the

village called Budugūru to Lokāyya, who was the younger brother of Dasayya and who is described as the illuminator of the doctrine of the Arhats And this Lokāyya presented it to the Jain *basadi* built by Nidhiyanna, apparently the same temple, mentioned in Mahendra's inscription of Śaka 815 This stone epigraphs prove that Mahendra and his son were patrons of Jainism The undated inscription of Ayyapa is assigned[186] to the early 10th century A D It should also be pointed that Mahendra's epigraph of Śaka 815 begins with an invocation to Jinendra [187] All the above-mentioned inscriptions are in Kanarese

We should also refer to a Bāna epigraph[188] found from Vallimalai (North Arcot) which records the setting up of an image of Devasena, the pupil of Bhavanandin and the spiritual preceptor of the king The inscription is in Kanarese Grantha characters and may be assigned to the 9th century A D

The Imperial Colas who started ruling from the last quarter of the 9th century A D, were Brāhmanical Hindus and mainly patronised theistic Hindu deities like Śiva and Visnu We have however, quite a good number of inscriptions connected with Jainism, belonging to the Cola period which show that the Jains were present almost everywhere in the vast Cola empire The earliest Jain epigraph of the time of the Imperial Colas belongs to the reign of Āditya I (871-907 A D) and was discovered from Vedal in Arkonam Tāluk of North Arcot district [189] It is incised on a boulder in front of the natural cave known as Āndar-Madam The epigraph records an undertaking given by the lay disciples at Vidal *alias* Mādevi-Arandaimangalam in Śingapura-nādu to protect and feed along with her lady pupils Kanakavīra Kurattiyār a woman ascetic and disciple of the teacher Gunakīrtibhattāraka This epigraph which is dated in the 14th regnal year of Āditya (Rājakesarivarman) further refers to the dispute between 500 male pupils and 400 female ascetics It was evidently a very big Jain establishment It further appears tha the female ascetic mentioned in this epigraph, was the daughter of an influential person An earlier epigraph from the same site belongs to the reign of Nandivarman II[190], where the Jain temple-complex is called Vidārpalli Mādevi Arandaimangalam, mentioned in the epigraph of

the time of Āditya I, was another name of Viḍāl An earlier Jain inscription,[191] dated in the 2nd year of Rājakeśarivarman probably also belongs to the reign of Āditya I It was found from Tirunagesvaram on the southern bank of the Kāverī It registers gifts made by merchants of Kumāramārtandapuram to meet the cost of repairs to the enclosure called Maunakumāramārtandan and the *gopura* of Milāḍiyarpaḷḷi From another epigraph it appears[192] that Kumāramārtandan was a surname of the Pallava king Nandivarman II

For the reign of Parāntaka I (A D 907-955) we have a number of Jain inscriptions The first epigraph[193] is dated in the third regnal year of Parāntaka I It was found from Toṇḍur in Gingee Tāluk of South Arcot district It records the endowment of a village with two gardens and wells as *paḷḷiccandam* to the Jain teacher Vaccirasinga Ilamperumānadigal at Parambūr and his disciple by the chief Vinnakovaraiyan Vayiri Malaiyan We have another Jain epigraph[194] of the same year from Tirakkol in Wandiwash Tāluk of North Arcot district It records a gift of 200 sheeps for the Jain temple called Maisitta Perumballi at Śridaṇḍapuram in Ponnur Nādu by one Era Nandi *alias* Naratonga Pallavariyam of Nelveli, which is probably situated in Tanjore district[195] The same Jain shrine is also mentioned in another Tamil record of the 10th century[196]

For the 4th year of Parāntaka we have an epigraph[197] from Polur Tāluk of North Arcot district It is incised on a rock at Tirumalai, a hill known for its Jain antiquities We have already taken note of an inscription from this hill of the time of Rāṣṭrakūta Kṛṣna III The inscription of Parāntaka records a gift to the Jain temple of this place by two persons recruited from Karnāṭa country The gift was made for feeding a devotee and for daily offering to Palliyālvār i e Jain Tīrthankara The hill was known at that time also as Vaigavūr A somewhat later Cola inscription[198] (dated in the 12th year of Rājendra I) refers to the fact that in the earlier time a Pallava queen had made provision for the burning of a perpetual lamp in the Jain shrine of this hill

An inscription[199] of about 945 A D of the reign of

Parāntaka I found from Vilāpakkam in North Arcot district refers to the sinking of a well by one nun called Paṭṭini Kuratti Aḍigal As the very name signifies, she was an eminent lady teacher According to the same source she was a disciple of a saint called Aristanemi Bhaṭārar of the Jain establishment of Tiruppānmalai We further learn from this inscription that the Jain residents of the place had organised themselves and constituted a representative council of 24 members to look after their interests

A number of Jain inscriptions belonging to the immediate successors of Parāntaka I are known The most important of such inscriptions is the copper plate record[200] from Pallankovil situated in Tirutturaipundi Tāluk of Tanjore district It consists of 6 plates, but unfortunately the plate which contained the name of the reigning king is lost The inscription discloses the existence of a Jain temple (*palli*) founded by Śaletti Kudiyan The name of the shrine is given as Sundarasolapperumbaḷḷi, apparently named after Sundara Cola, the grandson of Parāntaka I The gift provided for the maintenance of Candranandi Bhatāra *alias* Maunidevar of Nandisangha, who most probably presided over the Jain establishment to which male and female ascetics were attached Since the temple was named after Sundara Cola (956-973 A D), it was built in the third quarter of the 10th century A D In this connexion we should also refer to the Udayendiram plates of Hastimalla[201] according to which the Digambara Jains had an ancient *paḷḷiccandam* comprising two *paṭṭis* of land which were specially excluded from the gift of the village of Kaḷaikkottūr made in the reign of Parāntaka I

At Śirrāmūr in South Arcot district an inscription of the seventeenth year of a Rājakesari (probably Sundara Cola, 956-973 A.D) records the provision of a lamp in the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Pārśvanātha in which the scripture was expounded [202] So far as the reign of Rājarāja I (985-1014) is concerned, we have already referred to a Jain inscription of his time We have another Jain inscription[203] of the 8th year of his reign which mentions one Lāṭarāja Vira Cola, who was a tributary of the Cola king At the request of his wife he assigned to the god Tiruppānmalai certain income derived from

the village Kuraganapādi (probably modern Kurambadi, 2 miles east from Pañcapāṇḍavamalai which is 4 miles to the S.W. of Arcot town) This Cola feudatory is described as a worshipper at the holy feet of the god of Tiruppānmalai The elder sister of Rājarāja I viz Kundavai had strong affection for the Jain religion We will discuss this in the next volume of the present work

Now we should turn our attention to the state of Jainism during the rule of the Pāṇḍyas The earliest Jain inscription[204] of this dynasty comes from Chitaral in the former Travancore state The record in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeluttu characters, belongs to the 28th year of the reign of Varaguna I (c 765-815 A D)[205] *alias* Neduñjadayan The epigraph belonges to the last quarter of the 8th century A D It records a gift of golden ornaments to the Bhatāriyār of Tiruchchāranattumalai, popularly known as the holy hill of the Cāranas, made by the lady teacher Gunandāngi Kuratugal, disciple of Ariṣṭanemi Bhaṭāra of Perayakkuḍi Two more inscriptions of the reign of this king are known and both come from Ramanathapuram district They make mention[206] of Tirukkāṭṭāmpalli, which seems to have been a Jain temple at Kurandai, an important Jain centre[207] at at Venbunādu

We have an important Jain inscription of the reign of Varaguṇa II, which is also important from the historical point of view This is the Aivarmalai stone inscription[208] found from Palni Tāluk of Madurai district The epigraph is incised above the natural cave on the Aivarmalai hill, so well known for its Jain relics Unlike most of the Pāndyan epigraphs, it yields a definite date viz Śaka 792 corresponding to 870 A D, which according to the epigraph, was the 8th regnal year of Varaguna II. It registers a gift of 500 *kānam* of gold by Śāntivīrakkuravar of Kāḷam, the disciple of Guṇavīrakkuravadigal for offering to the images of Pārsva Bhaṭāra (i e Pārsvanātha) and of the attendant Yaksīs and for the feeding of one ascetic The inscription, therefore indirectly proves that the temple-complex of this hill, dedicated to Pārsva, existed before the date of this inscription. A few other short epigraphs of this hill will be discussed below

Another important Pāṇḍyan Jain inscription is dated in the

20th year of Śaḍayan Māran,[209] who is identified by some with Rājasimha II (c 900-920 A D), although Prof Sastri, it appears, believes that he was a different person[210] The inscription was discovered from Uttamapaliyam in Periyakulam Tāluk of Madurai district The epigraph is much damaged but definitely refers to a Jain shrine of this hill, which is known for its Jain antiquities The Pāndyan king Rājasimha II is said to have endowed several Jain temples[211] which proves that he was a Jain patron

Let us turn our attention to some of the epigraphs of Tamil Nadu, Kerala etc which are not connected with any ruling dynasty We have a very early epigraph, which was probably incised even before 600 A D, and which is also important from the palaeographical point of view The epigraph was discovered from Tirunātharkunru[212] in Gingee Tāluk of South Arcot It records the fast unto death (*niśidikā*) in 57 days by Candranandi Āsiriyar The inscription, according to the editor, marks the transition from Brāhmī to Vatteluttu and it may be assigned to the 6th century A D, if not earlier

We should now discuss the activities of a great Jain saint of South India, who did everything to make his religion popular among the masses We are referring to Ajjanandi, who was responsible for fashioning a number of images in different parts of the Southern states of India His name is mentioned in short epigraphs found from Vallimalai in Chitoor district of Andhra Pradesh and from Anaimalai, Aivarmalai Alagarmalai, Karungālakkudi and Uttamapaliyam in Madurai district His name is also found in the natural cavern at Eruvādi in Tinnevelly district and near Chitaral in Kerala So the three present states of India viz Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nādu and Kerala were traversed by this great Jain who left no stone unturned to counteract the hostile propaganda of Śaiva and Vaiṣnava fanatics, who were bent upon destroying the religion of Pārśva and Mahāvīra in South India From palaeographical considerations, Ajjanandi should be placed around 800 A D

In an epigraph[213] found from Pechchi Pallam in Madurai Taluk of Maduari district, Ajjanandi's mother Gunamatiyār is mentioned One of the epigraphs of Kongar Puliyagulam is

actually engraved under the image of that saint,[214] which probably was set up by one of Ajjanandi's disciples, who must have been numerous in the early 9th century An epigraph found from Vallimalai (Chittoor district) shows that the name of his preceptor was Bālacandra[215] It further appears that Ajjanandi was a native of the great city of Madura It has been pointed that this Ajjanandi is to be identified with his namesake, mentioned in the *Jīvakacintāmani*, a Tamil Jain classic.[216] Quite a few other Jain saints are also mentioned in the epigraphs found from different Jain sites of South India A few like Indusena, Mallisena etc were probably the contemporaries of Ajjanandi [217] Needless to say, these saints did everything to popularise the message of the Tirthankaras in South India

NOTES

1 See *Indian Archaeology* (1968-69) *A Review*, p 47 and plate LIIB

2 *E I* Vol 18 pp 172 ff see also Desai P B, *Jainism in South India* pp 117f

3 *I A* Vol 7 pp 161-62

4 See *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains, Bombay Presidency*, p 183 see also *I A* Vol 5, pp 67 ff, and Vol 8, pp 239 ff This important epigraph was afterwards edited by Kielhorn in *E I* Vol 6, pp 1ff See also Kielhorn s *List*, No 10

5 See A N Upadhye s paper in *Journal of Bombay University, Arts and Law* 1933 May, p 230

6 See *I A*, Vol 7, pp 101 ff

7 *Ibid* p 103

8 *Loc cit*

9 See Raychaudhuri G C *Hist of the Western Cālukyas* (*JAIH*, Vol VII), p 28

10 *I A*, Vol 7, p 103

11 *Ibid*, pp 111 ff

12 *Ibid*, p 112

13 *Loc cit*, see also Kielhorn, *List* No 37

14 See Fleet in *I A*, Vol 30, p 218

15 *I A*, Vol 7, pp 106 f

16 P 86

17 See *I A*, Vol 7, p 104

18 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46, A-49 See also *Jain Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol IV, No 45

19 *E I* Vol 21, pp 204 ff

20 See Naik, *A List of the Inscriptions of the Deccan*, 1949, No 73

21 See *A R on Indian Epigraphy* B 212-18

22 *A R South Indian Epigraphy*, 1928-29, E 101-31 1927-28, E 93-238

23 See 123 2, 146 1

24 See *Mysore Gazetteer* (New edition) Vol II (1930), p 629

25 *Loc cit*

26 *Loc cit*

27 *M A R*, 1925 No 105

28 *Ibid*, pp 90 ff, see also *Jain Śilālekha Sangraha* Vol 4, No 24

29 See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism* pp 23 f

30 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, pp 634 ff

31 See *E C* Vol IV, Nāgamangala No 85 see *Jain Śilālekha Sangraha* Vol II, No 121

32 *M A R*, 1933, pp 237-8

33 *Ibid*, 1920, pp 27 ff

34 *Ibid*, p 29

35 See *M A R* 1918, para 71

36 Plate XXIA and also p 29

37 Pp 29 f and plate XXI B

38 See Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* etc p 41, see also *Mysore Gazetteer*, p 642 and *I A* Vol 18, p 313

39 *E C*, Vol II p 180 (text), also Intod, p 43 see *M A R*, 1911, p 24

40 See *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol II, p 642

41 See *E C* Vol IX No 60

42 See *ibid* Introd p 4

43 *Ibid*, No 61

44 See *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p 160

45 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, p 657

46 *Ibid*, p 650 also *M A R* 1909 para 45

47 See *E I* Vol IV p 140

48 See *M A R*, 1921, pp 18 ff

49 See *ibid*, 1932, pp 240-41

50 *Ibid* p 241

51 See *E C*, Vol I (Revised edition, 1972), No 96 and Introd, p XL

52 *E C*, Vol X, pp 25 ff (translation), No 90 (text)

53 *Ibid*, Vol XII, p 135

54 See *M A R* 1921, p 22

55 *M A R*, 1914, para 63

56 See *E I*, Vol 3, pp pp 158 ff

57 *M A R* 1921, para 55

58 *Ibid*, 1923, No 113

59 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, p 675 see also *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p 161

60 *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, p 676

61 *E I*, Vol 36, pp 97 ff

62 *Ibid* p 98, see also *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol II, pp 678 f

63 See *E I*, Vol 4, p 281

64 *M A R*, 1921 pp. 18 ff, see also plates, X 1-6

65 For this term see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p 108

66 See *E C* Vol II (revised), No 59 and Plate LXIII See also Introduction, pp 44 ff

67 See also *E C*, Vol X, Mūlbāgal, 84

68 *Ibid* Vol X CB 29

69 *Ibid*, Introd, pp IX f

70 See *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol II, p. 686

71 See *E C* Vol, II (Revised) No 150

72 See *E C* Vol I (1972), No 98 The date corresponds to 918 A.D it was issued on Phālguna Nandīśvara day It registers a grant of two villages to Anantavīrya, a disciple of Gunasena-pandita for the maintenance of a Jain *vasadi* at Peggadūr

73 See *J B B R A S* Vol 10, pp 194 ff see also *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol II, No 130

74 See Altekar, *The Rāstrakūtas and their Times*, p. 89 and foot-not 52 Desai following Fleet, identifies Krsna of this inscription with Kṛṣṇa III, see *Jainism in S India*, p 112 But the date of the record, which is given in words, definitely goes against the view of Fleet and Desai Although, Amoghavarsa, I, the father of Kṛṣna II was still living, the son was practically the *de facto* king at that time

75 See Desai, *op cit*, p 113

76 See *J B B R A S* Vol X, pp 204 ff

77 Desai, op *cit*, p 113

78 See *ibid*, pp 113 ff

79 See *E I*, Vol 21, pp 291 f

80 For some further details see Desai, *op cit*, p 111

81 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, pp 570 ff, see also *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp 162 f

82 See V Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, 1919, Salem, No 81

83 *Ibid*, No 74

84 See *E C*, Vol II (Revised), No 1, see also *E I*, Vol 4, pp 24 ff

85 *E C*, II, Nos 2 9

86 See No 7 dated circa 700 A D

87 See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol II, p 237

88 See Inscription No 47 in P B Desai's *Jainism in South India* etc, pp 374 f

89 See *Kannada Inscriptions of A P* No 57 see also Desai, *op cit*, pp 339 ff

90 See Desai, *op cit*, pp 343 f, No 20

91 *Ibid* p 344, also *Varāṅgacarita*, Introd, p 22

92 See *E C*, Vol 4, Sr 160, p 143 We should also mention in this connexion, the reference to the death of Sukumārasena *Muni* on the hill of Kopana (Kapanādri) mentioned by Cāmundarāja in his celebrated *Cāmundrāva Purāna*, see Saletore, *op cit*, p 193 and foot note 2

93 See *E C* Vol II p 88

94 *Ibid* Nos, 127 191, 345 and 384 For some further details on this great *Tirtha* see Saletore, *op cit*, pp 187-197 see also Desai, *op cit*, pp 200 ff

95 *A R on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1916-17, copper plate No 16, see also *J A H R S*, Vol 13, pp 185 ff and *The Classical Age*, p 253

96 *A R South Indian Epigraphy*, 1941-42, No 18

97 *Ibid*, 1929-30, p 6, Nos 17-19

98 See *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp 137 f

99 See *E I*, Vol 9, pp 47 ff, see also Butterworth and Chetti, *Nellore Inscriptions*, pp 164 ff

100 See *E I*, Vol 7 pp 177 ff

101 *Ibid*, p 182 cf the case of Vināpoti, the mistress of Badami Cālukya Vijayāditya (Mahākūṭa pillar inscription) and Divalāmbikā (Sudi plates of Būtuga)

102 See *E I*, Vol 24, pp 268 ff

103 See *J.A H R.S*, Vol. 13, p 195 and footnote 1

104 See *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol II, pp 21 ff

105 *Ibid*, pp 22 ff

106 *Loc cit*

107 *Loc cit*

108 See No 1 of *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol II

109 *Ibid*, pp 31 ff

110 See *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh (Karimnagar district)* ed. P V Parabrahma Sastry, No 5

111 *Ibid*, No 4

112 See *The Cālukyas of Vemulavāda*, pp 92 ff, see also N Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya aur itihāsa* pp 190 ff

113 See Premi, *op cit*, p 179 and footnote 1

114 *Ibid* pp 178 f, and p 179 footnote

115 *Ibid*, p 193

116 *EC*, Vol II (Revised), No 67

117 *Ibid*, No 35

118 *EC*, Vol IX, No 61

119 *EI*, Vol 4, pp 332 ff also *IA*, Vol 12, pp 11 ff

119A See *A R of Indian Epigraphy*, 1958-59, B-582.

120 See *Karnatak Inscriptions* (1951) Vol II, pp 14-16

121 See *EI* Vol 6, pp 25 ff

122 *Ibid*, p 26

123 *Ibid*, p 25

124 See Premi, *op cit* p 150 fn 4 where the original verses from Gunabhadra's *praśasti* have been reproduced.

124A See The *Rāstrakūṭas and their Times*, p 311

125 See Premi, *op cit*, pp 134 f

126 *Ibid*, pp 151 f and footnote 6 in p 151

127 *Loc cit*, see also R G Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, p 95

128 See Altekar, *op cit*, p 411, see also *JBBRAS*, Vol 22, pp 80 ff

129 See *EI*, Vol 18, p 248, also Altekar, *op cit*, p 311.

130 See Premi, *op cit*, p 163

131 *Ibid*, p 153

132 See Jain, J P, *The Jain Sources* etc, pp 204 ff., see also *praśasti-sangraha* (pp 56-57) of that text published from Sholapur Premi *op cit*, p 49 (footnote) however, doubts the authenticity of this *praśasti*

133 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, p. 741 (cf verses I 84, 114 and III 5 of that work)

134 See *EI*, Vol 13, pp 190 ff, see also *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol II, No 137

135 See Desai, *op cit*, pp 134 f

136 *Loc cit*

136A See *J B B R A S*, Vol, 22, p 85, see also Altekar, *op cit*, p. 99A

137 See Saletore, *op cit*, p 89, see also Premi, *op cit*, p. 150 fn. 3, where the relevant verse regarding him has been quoted

138 See *J B B R A S*, Vol 22, p 85 and Saletore, *op cit*, p 39

139 *E C*, Vol II, No 67

140 *M A R*, 1911 p 38 see also Saletore, *op cit* p 207 see also *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol. 4, No 77

141 See *E I*, Vol 10, pp 147 ff

142 *A S I A R*, 1905-6, pp 121 f According to this inscription king Indra (Nityavarṣa) caused the pedestal to be made for the bathing ceremony of Śāntinātha See also V Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1919, pp 589-90, see also C L Jain, *Jain Bibliography*, p 199

143 See *E I*, Vol 10, p 149

143A See *I A*, Vol 12, pp 224 f

144 *A S I A R*, 1928-29, p 125

145 According to some the earlier inscription dated Śaka 847 belongs to the reign of Indra III, see Desai, *op cit*, p. 139 But Indra III, it appears, died in 922 A D, , see *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 13

146 See *Bombay Karnātaka Inscriptions* Vol I, Part I, No. 34

147 *A R of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1916, App B, No 540. See also Desai, *op cit*, p 149

148 Desai, *op cit* p 149

149 See *Jain Epigraphs* Part III, No 48 in Desai's work *Jainism in South India* etc

150 *Ibid*, No 46

151 See *ibid*, pp 369 f

152 Āśvāsa XII verse 9, see also Desai, *op cit*, p 370

153 Desai, *op cit*, p 372

154 *A R South Indian Epigraphy*, App B No 65

155 Desai, *op cit*, p 42

156 See *Bombay Karnātaka Inscriptions*, Vol I, part I, No. 38

157 For the relevant passage from that text see Premi *op. cit* p 179 fn 1

158 See Naik, *A List of the Inscriptions of the Deccan*, 1949 No 173

159 *Ibid*, No 172

160 See Desai, *op cit*, p 48, see also *Jainism and Karnātaka Culture*, p 34

161 See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II, pp 769-70

162 See *Jain Śilālekha Sangraha*, Vol 4, No 87

163 E C II, (Revised ed), No 133 It has been suggested that No. 134 from the same place belongs to time of Indra IV (see E. C. II, No. 134)

164 See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang s Travels in India* Vol II, pp 224, 226, 228

165 (Chowkhamba ed) p 9 P B Desai therefore, is not correct when he says that this play does not refer to the Jains (see *op cit*, p 35)

166 See in this connexion *I A*, Vol 40 p 215, Vol 42, p 307 See also Desai, *op cit*, pp 33 f See also *S I I*, Vol. I p 29

167 See Desai, *op cit*, p 34

168 The *Periyapurānam* refers to the destruction of several structural monuments of the Jains at Cuddalore by Mahendravarman I, see *I A* Vol 40, p 215 See also *The Classical Age* p 260.

169 See *E I*, Vol 27, pp 203 ff also *Nellore Inscriptions*, p 676

170 *A R on Indian Epigraphy*, 1968-69, p 60 and No. B 219

171 *Loc cit*

172 *Loc cit* see also B 220

173 See *ibid*, p 6

174 *Ibid*, B 268

175 *A R on Indian Epigraphy* 1954-55, B 360

176 *Ibid*, 1968-69, B 221

177 See *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp 165 ff

178 See *Seminar on Inscriptions*, Madras, p 159

179 *A R on Indian Epigraphy*, 1968-69, B 223

180 See Rangacharya, *op cit*, Salem, 81

181 See *E I*, Vol 10 pp 54 ff

182 *Ibid* p 64

183 *Loc cit*

184 *S I I*, Vol IX, pt I, No 19

185 See *E I*, Vol 10, p 70

186 *Ibid*, p 65

187 *Ibid*, p 68

188 See *E I*, Vol IV, pp 141 f

189 See *S I I*, Vol 3, Part 3, No 92, see also *S I I*, Vol 13, No 245

190. *A R South Indian Epigraphy*, 1909, App B 82.

191 *S I I*, Vol 3, Pt 3, No 91

192 *A R South Indian Epigraphy* 1907, No 199

193 See *S I I*, Vol 19, No 80

194 *Ibid*, No 51

195 *Ibid* p 25

15

196 See *S I I*, Vol 13, No 297

197 See *S I I*, Vol 19, No 89 also *S I I*, Vol 3, No 97 and A R of 1907, No 66

198 See *S I I*, Vol I No 68

199 *A R on S Indian Epigraphy* 1900, App B 53

217 *S I I* Vol 14, Nos 197 119

200 *A R on Indian Epigraphy*, 1961-62, pp 4 5, see also *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1958-59 pp 84 ff

201 *S I I*, Vol 2 p 387 (No 76)

202 201 of 1902 (*A R on Epigraphy* Madras)

203 *I I*, Vol 4, p 137

204 *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol I pp 193 ff, see also Rangacharya *op cit* Tiruvankur 2

205 We have followed the chronology proposed by K A N Sastri in *The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp 36 ff

206 *A R on Epigraphy* (Madras), 430 and 431 of 1914

207 See Desai *op cit*, p 62

208 See *S I I*, Vol 14 No 22 see also *E I* Vol 32, pp 337 ff

209 *S I I* Vol 14 Nd 69

210 Sastri *op cit* pp 74 f

211 *Ibid* p 84

212 *S I I* Vol 17, No 262 see also the plate facing Introd p 1

213 Rangacharya *op cit* Madura, No 101

214 *Ibid*, Madura, No 389

215 See *E I* Vol 4 No 15, D

216 See *S I I*, Vol 14 Nos 107 ff see also C L Jain *Jaina Bibliography* p 228

CHAPTER XI

The Śvetāmbara Canonical Literature

According to the tradition, current among the Śvetāmbara Jains the Jain sacred texts were first collected and edited at Pātaliputra more than 160 years after the demise of Lord Mahāvīra The earliest version of this tradition is to be found in the *Āvassakacūrṇī*[1] of Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara, who flourished in the second half of the 7th century A D [2] The great Śvetāmbara writer Haribhadra, who lived in the middle of the 8th century A D has also referred to this council The following story is told regarding this council

Sthūlabhadra was one of the two sons of Śakatāla, the minister of king Mahāpadma After staying with Kośā, a famous courtesan of the city of Pātaliputra for a period of 12 years, he renounced the world under Sambhūtavijaya without suffering any transgression Now it so happened, that there was a famine at Pātaliputra during the time of the 9th Nanda[3] and the monks were forced to leave the city The famine lasted for 12 years and when the monks returned, they discovered that many portions of the canon were lost Sthūlabhadra then on his own initiative, convened a council of learned Jain monks at Pātaliputra to collect the entire canon But the monks discovered that the 12th Anga viz the *Dṛṣṭivāda* could not be recollected and the council decided to send 500 monks including Sthūlabhadra to Bhadrabāhu, who was at that time staying in Nepal and was engaged in *mahāprāna-mahāprāna* meditation there He was the only monk, alive at that time who had the complete knowledge of the *Dṛṣṭivāda* But within a short time, all but Sthūlabhadra left Nepal, as they could not face the situation there Bhadrabāhu, we are told, taught Sthūlabhadra the fourteen *Pūrvas* (an important part of the *Dṛṣṭivāda*) withholding the meaning of the last four texts for some reason and he was not allowed to teach the last four texts to any one else Later on with the

death of Sthūlabhadra (215 years after the demise of Mahāvīra), even the verbal embodiment of these four *Pūrvas* came to an end Since then the knowledge of the *Pūrvas* went on decreasing and it was completely forgotten by the V N 1000[5]

It is clear from the above account that at least the eleven Angas were extant during the council which was held some 160 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāna However, during the course of our discussion of the Anga texts, we will see that portions of those texts were added after the 4th century B C It should further be remembered that there were three more Jain councils in which the Āgama texts were subjected to further revision and alteration A few of the later additions to the Āgamic texts will be discussed in connexion with the scrutiny of the individual texts Let us now turn our attention to the Anga texts, most of which were composed in the pre-Mauryan times The following eleven Anga texts are known—*Ācārānga, Sūtrakrtānga, Sthānānga, Samavāyānga Bhagavatī* or *Vyākhyāprajñapti, Jñātrdharmakathā, Upāsakadaśā, Antakrddaśā, Anuttaropapātikadaśā, Praśnavyākarana* and *Vipākaśruta*

The *Ācārānga*[6] undoubtedly is one of the oldest and most authoritative Jain Āgamic texts The language and the spirit of this work prove that a major part of it was composed within 50 years of Mahāvīra's demise A few section, especially those dealing with the birth of Mahāvīra, were added probably a couple of centuries later The work is divided into two major sections called Śrutaskandha and it appears that the earlier Śrutaskandha was composed long before the second one This is also vouched for by the evidence of its *Niryukti*[7] which suggests that this portion was composed by the *theras* who were *srutakevalins* The style also of the second part is radically different from the first part

The names of the nine chapters (adhyayana) of the first Śrutaskandha are as follows—Śastraparijñā, Lokavijaya, Śītoṣnīya, Samvyaktva, Lokasāra, Dhūta, Mahāparijñā, Vimokṣa and Upadhāna Of these, the 7th one viz Mahāparijñā is now extinct[8] The second section contains five *cūlās* (*cūlikā*), of which the 5th called Nisītha is now a separate Āgamic text The first two *cūlās* contain seven chapters each and the third and the fourth,

-ont each We have a *Niryukti*[9] on this work by Bhadrabāhu, a *Cūrṇi*[10] by Jinadāsagaṇi (7th century) and also a *Ṭīkā*[11] by Śīlāṅka (c 850 A D) Śīlāṅka in his commentary[12] has referred to an earlier commentator of the *Ācārāṅga* called Gandhahastin

In the earlier parts of the *Ācārāṅga* there is a distinct emphasis on *Ahimsā* A few sentences from that part are reproduced below—"Some slay (animals) for sacrificial purposes, some kill (animals) for the sake of their skin, some kill (them) for the sake of their blood, thus for the sake of their heart, their bile, the feathers of their tail, their big or small horns, their teeth, their tusks, their sinews, their bones, with a purpose or without a purpose Some kill animals because they have been wounded by them or are wounded or will be wounded'

"He who injures these (animals) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts, he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards animals, nor cause others to act so nor allow others to act so He who knows these causes of sin relating to animals is called a reward-knowing sage"[13]

Some of the finest teachings of Jainism are incorporated in this Anga text "He who sees by himself, needs no instruction But the miserable, afflicted fool who delights in pleasures, and whose miseries do not cease, is turned round in the whirl of pains"[14] The author of this work repeatedly asks the Śramaṇas to be careful regarding women and similar sentiments are expressed almost everywhere in the Indian literature The truly liberated is one who is not attached to the objects of the senses[15] However similar teachings are to be found in the Buddhist texts also We should always remember that both Jainism and Buddhism look upon this world as a place of suffering And this is the reason why in the religious texts of both the systems we get identical metaphysical speculations

The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* gives interesting information regarding religious and social life of pre-Mauryan India A number of popular festivals in honour of Brāhmanical deities like Indra, Skanda, Rudra and Mukunda are mentioned in this text[16] We

should remember that the *Mahābhārata*[17] also refers to the festivals in honour of Paśupati i e Rudra and Brahman. References to the festival in honour of Indra are to be found not only in the later Vedic texts, but also in Asvaghosa and other writers including Varāhamihira[18] The festival of Indra, according to the *Mahābhārata*, was introduced by Vasu Uparicara, the Cedi monarch[19]

The *Ācārāṅga* in the same passage also refers to the festivals of Yakṣas, snakes, tree, hill, river, sea etc These were simply popular assemblies (*samāja*) which had practically no religious bias Such *samājas* were not liked by Asoka as we learn from one of his rock edicts[20] References to various types of cloth including those made in China, Bengal and Malava countries are to be found in this text[21] It is interesting to note that *cīnāṁśuka* is also mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*[22] of Kauṭilya which probably suggests that the Chinese cloth was known in India even in the pre Mauryan days There is no need to suppose that the name 'Cīna' is not older than the third century B C, as it could have been the name of a particular province of China, from a much earlier period References to various types of musical instruments including *mṛdaṅga nandīmṛdaṅga, jhallarī vīṇā tumbavīṇā, paṇava tuṇava* etc are also quite interesting They probably prove that these instruments were used in Jain temples in those days

The section on Mahāvīra's life has already been discussed in an earlier chapter There is little doubt that this part of the *Ācārāṅga* was utilised by the author of the *Kalpasūtra* However, in another part of the *Ācārāṅga*[24] there is a reference to Mahāvīra's wanderings in various parts of Bengal This part is written in verse and it appears to have been composed a few years after Lord Mahāvīra's demise We learn from this section that at first the people of Lāḍha were in no mood to listen to the teachings of Mahāvīra The people there made the dogs bite Mahāvīra and he was subjected to various other humiliations But it appears that within a few years of Lord Mahāvīra's death, Jainism was firmly established in Bengal, and as we have already suggested, it was from Bengal that the Jain religion spread to Orissa

The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*[25], which is the second Aṅga text, is undoubtedly another very old Jain Āgamic text We have various commentaries on this text including a *Niryukti*[26], a *Cūrṇī*[27] and a *Ṭīkā*[28] Like the *Ācārāṅga* it has two Śrutaskandhas In the first there are sixteen Adhyayanas and in the second, seven The major part of the first Śrutaskandha is in verse and the greater part of the second Book is in prose Compared to the *Ācārāṅga* it is a more readable work and it contains numerous interesting references In the earlier sections of this text there is a detailed discussion on the metaphysical doctrines of various schools of thought For a student of pre-Buddhist Indian philosophy this part of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* is an invaluable source-book This work, it is interesting to note[29], knows the four ages viz Kṛta, Kali, Tretā and Dvāpara The author of this text shows his close acquaintance with the Second Book of the *Mahābhārata* by referring to the Śiśupāla episode We are quoting the relevant passage from Jacobi's translation[30]—"A man believes himself a hero as long as he does not behold the foe, as did Śiśupāla (before he beheld) the valourously-fighting great warrior It is apparent from the passage that the Jain author had read with enthusiasm and interest the exciting Śiśupāla story so beautifully told in the Sabhāparvan Elsewhere our author refers[31] to Dvaipāyana and Parāsara, which also indirectly shows his acquaintance with the *Mahābhārata* The Videhan monarch Nami is also mentioned[32] and he is to be identified with the famous Nimi of Brāhmanical and Buddhist texts Reference to the *Strīveda*[33] shows that works on the science of Erotics existed in India in the 5th century B C The earliest systematic work on this subject as we learn from Vātsyāyana,[34] was written by Bābhravya Pāñcāla, who probably flourished in pre-Buddhist times

It is extremely interesting to note that the author of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* calls Lord Mahāvīra a wise Brāhmana (*māhana*) at least in two places[35] The Buddhist canonical authors also make a similar claim on behalf of Gautama Buddha In the work entitled *Itivuttaka* Buddha directly calls himself a Brāhmaṇa[36] In the *Anguttara Nikāya*[37] Buddha is called Angiras, who was a great ancient Ṛgvedic seer Both Mahāvīra

and Buddha believed that by deeds one becomes a Brāhmaṇa and not by birth The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*[38] declares that a Brāhmaṇa is one who has ceased from all sinful actions viz love, hate, quarrel, calumny, backbiting, reviling of others, aversion to control and love of pleasures, deceit, untruth and the sin of wrong belief He is never proud and angry and always exerts himself Similar definition of a Brāhmana will not be hard to come across in the vast *Tripiṭaka* literature That seeing of a Śramana, was considered a bad omen is indirectly confirmed by this text[39] In the play *Mṛcchakaṭika*[40] the hero Cārudatta himself expresses a similar sentiment when he saw a Śramana

In this text peoples living in Gandhāra Gauḍa, Kalinga, Dravida are mentioned along with the Śavaras and Caṇḍālas[41] Probably even in the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra peoples living in the extreme North-west, South and East were looked upon with contempt by the people of Madhya-deśa But this does not necessarily prove that in the 6th century B C eastern or Southern India were culturally more backward in comparison to the centrally located states This is merely a question of attitude As a matter of fact, the metropolis of an eastern state viz Pāṭaliputra became from the 6th century B C the cultural capital of Northern India

Several types of coins like *māṣa, ardha-māsa, rūpaka* are mentioned in this text[42] Elsewhere in the Jain canon[43] *kārṣāpana* (including false *kārṣāpana*) *suvarna-māsa, rūppa-māsa* are referred to We will afterwards notice that in another Jain text, composed in the early centuries of the Christian era, there is an exhaustive and valuable list of coins current in India in the pre-Gupta times This work also refers to a number of musical instruments[44] It is also interesting to note that, unlike the other Jain texts, Brāhmanas are mentioned first in a list of four castes given in this canonical work[45] It appears that the earlier Jain canonical writers had a less affected attitude towards the Brāhmanas compared to the later writers

There is a short description in this text of Nālandā,[46] which as we learn from this work, was a prosperous town, a description confirmed by the account, given in the Buddhist texts[47] It further refers to a householder called Lepa, who was in posses-

-sion of a bathing-hall called Śeṣadravyā, which was situated to the north-east of Nālandā. As the name suggests, the hall was built with the materials not used in the building of a house. At this town Gautama Indrabhūti, the famous disciple of Lord Mahāvīra met Udaka Pedhālaputta of the Medārya *gotra*, who was a follower of Lord Pārśvanātha. The conversation[48] that took place between the two can be compared with the dialogue between a follower of Pārśva and Gautama Indrabhūti, recorded in the 23rd chapter of the *Uttarādhyayana*, which will be discussed afterwards. From this conversation we further learn that some of the followers of Gautama Indrabhūti were also known as Kumāraputras[49], which probably indicate that they belonged to aristocratic families.

The *Sūtrakṛtānga* like the *Ācārānga* contains beautiful and thought-provoking philosophical expressions and such expressions are in no way inferior to those of the Pāli Buddhist texts. The doctrines of Gośāla and Buddha have been cleverly refuted by Ārdraka, a follower of Mahāvīra in the second half of this text[50]. However, it should be added that the views of other schools have not been properly presented in this text. Such distortions of the philosophical views of other teachers are common in the religious works of almost all schools of thought in India. The Pāli Buddhist texts prove that Buddha had absolutely no deference for other teachers, and all of them have been branded by him as ignorant and unworthy of serious attention[51]. We have already said that, with the exception of a few passages, nowhere in the Jain canon the Buddhists have been attacked directly. However, the poor Ājīvikas have been mercilessly assailed by both Buddha and Mahāvīra.

The *Sthānānga Sūtra*[52], which is the third Anga text, unlike the first two, does not say anything on the teaching of Mahāvīra. On the other hand this work contains information on various dogmatic topics, which can be grouped in 1-10 categories. It has a slight resemblance to the *Anguttara Nikāya* of the Buddhists, although there are major differences between the two texts. There are ten Adhyayanas and 787 Sūtras and the only reliable commentary[53] on this text is by Abhayandeva Sūri, who wrote it in V S 1120, corresponding to 1062 A D. However,

as the commentator himself admits, it was not an easy task for him to write an authentic commentary on such a work[54] There are, however, interesting references in this Anga text Among the holy places, the name of Prabhāsa[55], is conspicuous by its presence and this shows that even the canonical Jain writers looked upon this Vaiṣṇava holy place as a *Tīrtha*. The name of this place also appears in the *Rājapraśnīya*[56], the second Upānga text This is not surprising if we remember that Krsna and Baladeva are included in the list of sixty three holy men (*Śalākāpurusa*) The four types of severe austerities, indulged by the Ājīvikas, are also mentioned[57] The difficult penances, performed by the Ājīvikas, are also referred to in the *Nanguṭṭha Jātaka* (No 144)[58] We are further told that a Jain monk should not cross more than once in a month the following five great rivers—Gangā, Yamunā, Erāvatī (Pāli Acirāvatī) Sarayū and Mahī These five rivers are mentioned together in several Pāli canonical texts[59] which indirectly prove the contemporaneity of the Pāli and Jain canonical works In the epics, Mahī and Acirāvatī are not treated as great rivers It should further be remembered that this Mahī should be distinguished from the Mahī of Western India, which is the "the great river called Mais of the *Periplus* (Para 42) Mophis of Ptolemy[60] Sarayū is mentioned as Sarabhū[61] in the Pāli texts which reminds us of the word 'Sarabos' used by Ptolemy[62] for that river The well-known capital of Kosala in Mahāvira's time viz Śrāvastī was situated on the river Erāvatī or Acirāvatī modern Rapti

Among the Jain rebels (Ninhavas) the first seven are mentioned and they were Jamāli, Tisyagupta Āsādha, Asvamitra, Ganga, Rohagupta and Goṣṭhamāhila Since the last one flourished 584 years after the Nirvāna of Mahāvira, this section of the *Sthanānga*[63] was composed not before the beginning of the 2nd century A D It is, however, quite possible that the list of these seven rebels were added during the Valabhī council, when the Jain canonical texts received their final shape Nine *ganas* under Mahāvīra are mentioned by name[64] and they are—Godāsa Uttarabalissaha, Uddeha, Cārana, Uduvāṭika (Uduvādiya), Viśvavādika, Kāmardhika (Kāmiḍḍhiya), Māṇava and Kodiya Of these Viśvavādika (Vissavāiya), it appears, is an otherwise

unknown *gaṇa* and not mentioned in the *Therāvalī*. It should, however, be remembered that these *gaṇas* could not have existed in the 5th century B.C. as according to the *Therāvalī*, they had originated only after Bhadrabāhu.

Ten great cities are mentioned in this text[65] and they are— Campā, Mathurā, Vārāṇasī, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Hastināpura, Kāmpilya, Mithilā, Kauśāmbī and Rājagṛha. Six of these cities, as we have already noticed are mentioned in the *Dīgha Nikāya* in the list of six great cities. Regarding Hastināpura, however, we can say, that it disappeared from the map of Northern India long before the sixth century B.C. The Jain canonical author has included the city is his list probably because of its past fame.

The 4th Aṅga text the *Samavāyāṅga*[66] is like *Sthānāṅga* a descriptive work. There is a commentary[67] on it by Abhayadeva, which was completed at the town of Anahilapāṭaka in the Vikrama year 1120 corresponding to 1062 A.D. Almost all the authorities believe it to be one of latest of the canonical texts, for it not only mentions other Aṅga texts, but also the *Nandīsūtra*. The subject matter of the first two third of the work is arranged in numerical groups just like the *Sthānāṅga* but in this case the numbers do not stop at ten, but go upto a million. Under No. 18 eighteen scripts are enumerated and they include Dāmilī and Polindī scripts[68]. This list can be compared with the list in the *Mahāvastu*[69] and the more exhaustive list given in the *Lalitavistara*[70] both being Buddhist Sanskrit texts. The 72 Arts are also mentioned by name.[71] Reference to gods like Vijaya, Vejayanta, Jayanta and Aparājita remind us of the four gods Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijayanta mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*[72] of Kauṭilya.

The author of the *Samāvāyāṅga* shows his thorough acquaintance with the devotional Vaiṣṇava literature. In Sūtra No. 158 there are some typical Vaiṣṇava expressions and the emblems of Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa are described correctly. The *Samavāyāṅga* not only betrays knowledge about Kṛṣṇa's life, but also a thorough acquaintance with the later myths that grew around Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.

The 5th Anga text viz the *Vyākhyāprajñapti* or the *Bhagavatī*[73] is undoubtedly the most important canonical work of the Švetāmbara Jains Abhayadeva wrote a commentary on this work in the Vikrama year 1128, corresponding to 1070 A D, at Anahilapāṭaka[74] This voluminous text extends to 41 Śatakas Since we consider this work as very important, we would like to make a detailed analysis of the contents of this text

The work opens with an adoration of Jina and also very significantly of the Brāhmī script In the first Śataka several types of ascetic groups are mentioned including Tāpasas Ājīvikas and Parivrājakas Lord Mahāvīra is represented as giving a discourse on various topics to Gautama Indrabhūti in the Gunaśila shrine which was situated near Rājagrha The most important information that we find in the first Śataka is regarding Kālāsavesiyaputta, a follower of Pārśva, who was converted by Mahāvīra This monk, it appears, had at first misgivings regarding Mahāvīra's religion based on five restraints In the second Śataka there is a reference to Kayamgalā town, which is the same as Kajangalā of the Pāli canon However, the canonical writer is not correct when he says that it was not far from Śrāvasti[75] This Śataka refers to the conversion of Khamda of the Kātyāyana *gotra* who was a disciple of a teacher well versed in the Brāhmanical philosophy We are further told that Mahāvira for some time lived on the Vipula mountain of Rājagrha[76] In this Śataka also Mahāvīra is represented as having converted a few followers of Pārśva[77] It is interesting to note that the hot spring of Rājagrha is mentioned in this Śataka and the name given to it here is Mahātavovatī[78] which reminds us of Tapodā of the Pāli canonical texts[79] It further appears from this Śataka that even in the 5th century B C there were shrines, dedicated to the Jina, for we come across the expression *Jinaghara*[80] In the 3rd Śataka there are several interesting references The four Lokapālas[81], the god Śūlapāni or Śiva who is described as *vasahavāhana*[82] i e *vṛṣabhavāhana*, and other gods like Indra, Skanda, Vaiśravaṇa etc are mentioned[83] It appears from this Śataka that gods like Indra, Skanda, Durgā, Rudra and Vaiśravaṇa were very popular This will be confirmed by the evidence of other canonical texts,

which will be discussed later in this chapter. This Śataka also contains the interesting account of Tāmalī Moriyaputta of Tāmralipta city[84] We are told that he was at first a big merchant of that famous city-port and afterwards gave up everything to become a recluse The expression 'Moriyaputta' does not necessarily mean that he was a scion of the Moriya or Maurya family It further appears from this Śataka[85] that the art of drama was fully developed in the sixth century B.C., an assumption which is supported by the evidence of Pāṇini A few malignant spirits like Indragraha, Skandagraha, Kumāragraha, Yuksagraha and Bhūtagraha are also mentioned[86] Needless to say, these *grahas* were supposed to inflict bodily harm both to children and adults The 4th Śataka contains nothing interesting In the 5th Śataka there is a referece to the famous Pūrnabhadra shrine of Campā[87], which was often visited by Mahāvīra A beautiful and detailed description of this Yaksa temple is given in the *Aupapātika Sūtra,* which will be discussed later in this chapter We have also an exhaustive list of various types of musical instruments in this Śataka[88] The god Harinegamesī, who is generally identified with Kārttikeya, and who was responsible, according to the *Kalpsūtra,* for transferring the embryo of Mahāvīra from the womb of Devānandā to Triśalā, is prominently mentioned in this Śataka[89] Among other interesting references in the 5th Śataka we have *stūpa, devakula*[90] etc. The *devakulas* or the Brāhmanical shrines are also mentioned elsewhere in the *Bhagavatī*[91] There is little doubt that the shrines, dedicated to Devas, Yaksas etc, existed in pre-Buddhist days[92] But as they were built of wood, no trace of them remains to-day This Śataka also refers to the disciples of Pārsva[93] In the 6th Śataka there is nothing interesting to note except a reference to various types of measures[94]

The 7th Śataka is important since it contains interesting information on the political history of the 5th century B C Here we have an elaborate description of the war between Ajātaśatru and eighteen confederate kings of Kāśī and Kosala[95] It was surely a bloody war which lasted for a considerable time and came to be known as Rathamusala battle The ethics of war were scrupulously followed in this battle[96] and this reminds

us of the ethics of war which were agreed upon by both the parties before the Bhārata War[97] A person called Varuṇa, belonging to the Nāga lineage, took part in this war, according to the *Bhagavatī*[98] However, the account of the war is highly realistic, unlike those given in the two epics, and we are told, that king Ajātaśatru who was helped by the Vaijjis, ultimately emerged victorious A similar account of war is found in the *Nirayavalikā*, an Upāṅga text which will be discussed afterwards

The 8th Śataka contains interesting references to the Ājīvikas and also the lay followers of the Ājīvika religion[99] There is an elaborate account of various professions[100] and it indirectly proves that the struggle for existence became quite difficult by the 6th century B C False weights and measures are also referred to[101] The 9th Śataka also contains accounts of the conversion of the followers of Pārśva[102] by Mahāvīra and this once more proves the testimony of the *Ācārāṅga* according to which Jainism reached North Bihar even before the birth of Mahāvīra This particular Śataka contains the poignant account[103] of Mahāvīra's meeting with Devānandā, his mother, which we have already discussed in the account of Mahāvīra's life We are further told that Lord Mahāvīra converted his mother to the Nirgrantha religion and she became a nun under Aryā Candanā[104] But the most important section of this Śataka is that dealing with Jamāli,[105] which has already been briefly discussed in connexion with the discussion on the life of Mahāvīra There is nothing here to indicate that he was the son-in-law of Mahāvīra Like the Master he, too, belonged to the Kṣatriya-Kuṇḍagrāma In this section[106] some festivals, connected with Indra, Skanda Mukunda Nāga etc are also mentioned There is a reference to Chinese silk-cloth[107] and to the stick of Indra[108] which was obviously used in the Indra-festival The 10th Śataka contains nothing of any importance, but the 11th is full of interesting things Mahāvīra's visit to Hastināpura is recorded here[109] which at that time, was probably a mere village Here also we get references to such terms as *pecchāghara*[110] (i e *prekṣāgṛha*) and *raṅgasthāna*,[111] which surely indicate that drama as form of entertainment was very

popular in those days There is also the term *yavanikā*,[112] which also occurs elsewhere in the Jain canon Let us not forget that even in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* the term *prekṣāgrha* is conspicious by its presence and one of the monks under Buddha was an actor in his earlier life[113] The town of Ālabhiyā which is mentioned more than once in this Śataka[114] was often visited by Buddha[115] Lord Mahāvīra too according to this Śataka visited this town The account of the conversion of Poggala Parivrājaka is also given here[116] The 12th Śataka records the account of Mahāvīra's visit to Kauśāmbī during the reign of Udayana This king, according to the *Bhagavatī*, was the daughter's son (*dauhitra*) of Cetaka of Vaiśālī[117] This statement gets an unexpected confirmation from one of the plays of Bhāsa[118] where Udayana is called the son of Vaidehī and Vaiśālī at that time was included in Videha Janapada We must also remember that another daughter of Cetaka viz Cellanā was the mother of Ajātaśatru and this prince is frequently called Vedehiputta in the Pāli texts[119] This Śataka further represents Jayantī, a sister of Śatānīka, as a great devotee of Lord Mahāvīra The 13th Śataka contains the story of Mahāvīra's visit to Vītībhava,[120] the capital of Sindhu-Sauvīra We are told that the Master travelled all the way from Campā to Vītībhaya in order to convert the king of Sindhu-Sauvīra As we have already said, this was surely the longest journey this Nirgrantha prophet undertook, and compared to this 'long march' all the achievements of Buddha pale into insignificance The 14th Śataka refers to the worship of Pātalī tree at Pātaliputra[121] and mentions Ambada Parivrājaka of Kāmpilyapura[122]

The famous 15th Śataka which is entitled *Gośālaka* gives an elaborate and highly authentic account of the career of Gośāla Mankhaliputra, the famous Ājīvika philosopher We have briefly discussed the career of Gosāla in a previous chapter and we propose to make an elaborate study of Gośāla and his religion in a separete Appendix to this volume According to this account Gośāla died 16 years before Mahāvīra and there is little doubt that his untimely death was welcomed by the followers of both Mahāvīra and Buddha The Pāli canonical texts also prove that Gautama Buddha regarded the Ājīvikas

as the greatest enemies of his religion This Sataka refers to a few pre-Buddhist shrines including Angamandira of Campā[123] and Kāmamahāvana of Vāranasī[124] It further refers to sixteen Mahājanapadas of those days,[125] a list that differs considerably from that given in the Pāli texts[126] This Śataka further gives the very revealing information that Lord Mahāvīra ate the flesh of cat (*majjārakaḍa*) and wild cock (*kukkuḍamamsa*)[127] when he was down with fever after a debate with Gośāla The Jains of modern times find this account quite shocking and hasten to offer various explanations for these terms Such attempts can be compared with those offered by the devout Buddhists for the term *Sūkaramaddava* which Buddha ate in Cunda's mango-grove at Pāvā Needless to say, the prophets of the 6th century B C, like other people of that time, were addicted to both vegetarian and non-vegetarian food Eating of fish and flesh did not clash with their ideas of non-violence. There are other evidences to show that the Jains of earlier times were non-vegetarians like others, although by the Gupta period, they became strictly vegetarians This Śataka further refers to the fact that a king of Pundra country called Devasena afterwards became a devout Ājīvika[128] This suggests that after the demise of Gośāla, Ājīvikism spread to Northern Bengal It further appears that this 15th Śataka of the *Bhagavatī* was edited more than once during the councils held afterwards

In the 16th Śataka we find Indra paying homage to Mahāvīra[129] As a matter of fact, the religious opponents of Brāhmanical Hindus always loved to paint the king of gods as a devotee of their prophet In almost every non-canonical work of the later Jain writers we have a *praśasti* addressed by Indra to the Jina. The Buddhist canonical writers have gone a step further, even the chief disciples like Moggallāna and Sāriputta are represented as being worshipped by Sakka (Śakra) This section also refers[130] to Vāsudeva and Baladeva The 17th Śataka has nothing new to tell The 18th Śataka is quite interesting There is a reference to Bahuputta shrine of Vaiśālī[131] and this is the only shrine or temple which is referred to in the canonical texts of both the Jains and Buddhists. For a historian the importance of this reference is indeed very great.

It fully justifies our assumption that the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* is a text of great antiquity This particular temple is mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*,[132] which is regarded as one of oldest canonical Buddhist texts Mahāvīra is represented as having stayed in this shrine. We are therefore thrilled to discover that both these great prophets stayed for some time in this famous temple of the celebrated city of Vaiśālī Let us remember that Lord Mahāvīra himself used to pass nights in the Deva and Yakṣa shrines of those days This is proved by a passage of this Śataka [133] This particular Śataka also refers to gold and silver coins (*suvannamāsā, rūppamāsā*)[134]. The beautiful story of the conversion of Brahmin (*māhana*) Somila is told in this section[135] The remaining Śatakas of the *Bhagavatī* are largely useless for our purpose

The above analysis of this celebrated Anga text, though brief, amply shows that the *Bhagavatī* is an important sourcebook of contemporary social and cultural history of Eastern India It is a matter of regret that we have no early authentic commentary of this text, and the *Vṛtti* of Abhayadeva is almost wholly useless like his other *Vṛttis* It was simply impossible for a monk of Gujarat, living in the 11th century, to write a faithful commentary on a work, composed in the pre-Mauryan period This remark of ours holds good for other Jain commentaries as well

The 6th Anga text viz the *Nāyādhammakahāo* (*Jñātṛdharmakathā*)[136] is another important Jain canonical text It contains a number of stories which make this text the most readable of all the Jain canonical works The work is divided into two Śrutaskandhas, of which the first one, which is divided into nineteen chapters (Adhyayana) is important for our purpose The second Śrutaskandha is almost a repetition of the first

The first Adhyayana called Utkṣipta records the story of prince Meghakumāra, the son of Bimbisāra, by his wife Dhārinī. The name of this prince is, however, absent in the Buddhist texts. This prince, we are told, afterwards embraced the religion of Mahāvīra and became a Jain monk The second Adhyayana relates the story of merchant Dhanna (Dhanya) of Rājagṛha Once he was sentenced to imprisonment for committing a crime.

He and robber Vijaya (majority of thieves and robbers in the Jain literature bear this name), the murderer of his son Devadatta, were fettered together This pious merchant we are told, shared with that thief in the jail the food-packet (*bhoyana-piḍaga*) sent to him daily by his wife Bhadrā[137] Later the merchant became a *sādhu* under the Jain ascetic Dharmaghosa. The third Adhyayana contains an account of the famous prostitute of Campā called Devadattā, who was loved by the sons of the two merchants Jinadatta and Sāgaradatta This prostitute, once more appears in a later Adhyayana of this canonical text The fourth Adhyayana relates the story of two turtles and a jackal The first turtle is killed by the jackal as it exposed itself to the danger, another one, being cautious, remained unhurt in its shell, since it waited until that beast had gone The 5th Adhyayana is quite interesting as it tells us something about Ariṣṭanemi and other Vṛṣnis of Dvārakā (Bāravaī) There is also a description of the Surapriya *yakṣāyatana* (shrine) which was situated near the city It is interesting to note that the five Vṛṣni heroes led by Baladeva, mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāna*, as *manusyaprakṛti* gods, are also referred to in this section of this text[138] A few other Vṛṣni heroes are also mentioned in this section The mountain Raivataka which is mentioned for the first time, in the *Mahābhārata*[139], is described here as situated near Dvārakā However, it should be pointed out that this mountain is not near Dvārakā but Girinagara and in the *Mahābhārata* passage Kuśasthalī is described as situated near this mountain (*Kuśasthalīm purīm ramyām Raivatenopaśobhitām*) It follows therefore that ancient Kuśasthalī is not Dvārakā but Girinagara[140] The Jain writer of this canonical text, it appears, was not much acquainted with the topography of this area We have already said that Baladeva, Vāsudeva and others had a place in the Jain mythology and it is therefore not surprising to find a detailed description of them in this canonical text. However, like other Jain texts, Ariṣṭanemi, who was supposed to be a scion of the Vṛṣni race, is described as much superior to Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva in this section of the *Nāyādhammakahāo*

This work also refutes the philosophy of the Sāṅkhya teachers[141] We are told in the 5th Adhyayana that the Sāṅkhya

teacher Śuka (Sua) was converted to Jainism by the Nirgrantha saint Thāvaccāputta This particular Sāṅkhya teacher, who was well versed in the *Saṣṭitantra*[142], used to move about with a trident The detailed description of the various implements of this philosopher shows that in spite of his Sāṅkhya leanings, he was a Śaiva In this connexion we get the words *tridaṇḍa, kuṇḍikā, chatra, karoṭikā, kamaṇḍalu, rudrākṣamālā, mṛttikā-bhājana, trikāṣṭika, aṅkuśa* etc Probably the earliest reference to the word *yāpanīya* is to be found in this section of this Aṅga text

In the 7th Adhyayana we have the story of Rohiṇī which has interesting similarity with the parable of talents in Matthew[143] and Luke[144] Surprisingly enough, the Jain writer finds a few words of praise for women The 8th Adhyayana is more interesting as it contains the story of Mallī, the 19th Tīrthankara In this Adhyayana there is a reference to a Nāga temple near Sāketa[145] There is a description of a sea voyage and we further learn that the Indian ships used to go to various foreign countries from the river ports of those days including Campā Here also we have names of those popular Hindu gods and goddesses,[146] who are mentioned in the *Bhagavatī* and other places The 9th Adhyayana contains an account of ship-wreck and there is an interesting reference to Lavaṇasamudra and Ratnadvīpa The 10th to 12th Adhyayanas are less interesting But the 13th Adhyayana gives an interesting account of the philanthropic works done by Nanda, a gem-merchant (maniyāra) of Rājagṛha He built a number of beautiful garden-complexes which included hospitals, painting-houses, kitchens with water-tanks, music-schools etc The 14th Adhyayana contains the story of the conversion of a lady called Poṭṭilā by a Jain nun called Suvratā The 15th Adhyayana refers to monks belonging to other sects like Raktapaṭa (Buddhist), Paṇḍaranga (Ājīvika), Gautama, Caraka etc.

The most important Book of this Anga text is the 16th Adhyayana called Avarakamkā which is largely based on the *Mahābhārata* as it gives the story of Draupadī and her five husbands We are told that in her previous birth Draupadī (Dovaī) was the daughter of a merchant of Campā and her

name was Sukumārikā One day she saw a prostitute named Devadattā enjoying the company of five young men at a Bohemian club of the city called Lalitā[147] This lady thereupon made a *nidāna* to marry five husbands in her next life and accordingly was born as Draupadī. It is interesting to note that even some of the minor details of the *Mahābhārata* are repeated in this section of the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[148] However, the Pāṇḍavas are represented as inferior heroes and mere subordinates of Krsna This section further represents Krsna as becoming disgusted with the behaviour of the Pāndavas and asking them to leave for the South Then we are told the story of the foundation of Madura, called in the text Pamdamahurā, by the five Pāṇḍavas, a story that has interesting parallels with the story of Pandia or Pandaia, told by Megasthenes, who flourished in the last quarter of the 4th century B C.[149] The story told regarding the foundation of Madura in this work was later taken up by the Jain narrative writers, who did their best to make the story as absorbing as possible[150] The Pāṇḍavas died like many other devout Jains on the summit of Śatruñjaya, according to this work The other 3 Adhyayanas are less interesting However, the robber Vijaya once more appears in the 18th Adhyayana

The 7th Anga text [151] viz the *Upāsakadāśā* is also an absorbing and readable work There is a commentary on this work by Abhayadeva[152], which is practically of no help to us This work contains stories regarding ten lay disciples of Lord Mahāvīra The first story is concerning Ānanda, who was a *śramanopāsaka* of Vāniyagāma near Vaisālī There is a reference to Dūipalāsa shrine of that place This millionaire disciple of Mahāvīra reminds us of Anānthapiṇḍika of the Pāli canon He is even depicted as superior to Indrabhūti The second story is told regarding one Kāmadeva of Campā It is interesting to note that in this story there is a reference to Lambodara (Ganeśa)[153], which proves that this god was even worshipped in the pre-Christian period A newly discovered coin of Hermaeus (1st century A D) has the representation of elephant-headed Ganeśa The Ājīvikas are referred in the 6th and the 7th Adhyayanas The 7th Adhyayana is particularly interesting

From this section we learn that at the town of Polāsapura there was one Saddālaputta, a famous potter, who had 500 potter shops under him and who was a lay Ājīvika votary The potters, who worked under him, are described as *bhattaveyanā*[154], which suggests that they received regular wages for their work Pāṇini's Sūtra *vetanādibhyo jīvati* (4 4 12) suggests that even from pre-Buddhist times the system of regular payment in cash to workers and servants was known The evidence of the *Mahābhārata*[155] also shows that the system of *vetana* was well known from quite early times This follower of the Ājīvikas, according to the present story, was converted by Mahāvīra The 8th Adhyayana shows one pious lay worshipper called Mahāśataka, whose chief wife Revatī, we are told, used to consume cow-flesh[156] The last two Adhyayanas are not much interesting

The 8th Anga text, which is known as the as the *Antagaḍadasāo* (*Antakṛtadaśā*)[157] is also not a barren work as it is full of narratives The accounts of the Vṛṣṇis, led by Vāsudeva, occupy a good portion of this text However some of the details, given here, are also found in the 6th Anga text There is a list of peoples living in different *janapadas* and this list[158] includes such names as the Arabs, Barbaras, Yavanas, Simhala, Pārasika etc A full list of 72 Arts are also given in this text[159] There is a highly interesting reference[160] to the Mahākāla *śmaśāna* (cemetery) of Ujjayinī Like many other Jain texts this work also represents Vāsudeva as inferior to Ariṣṭanemi[161], that great Indian philosopher and hero is even pictured as a devotee of this Jain Tīrthankara[162] Two of Kṛṣna's wives are distinctly mentioned, they are Rukmiṇī[163] and Jāmbavatī, the mother of Sāmba[164] In another place we have the complete list of Kṛṣna's wives We have a very interesting story regarding Moggarapāṇi[165] Yakṣa-shrine of Rājagṛha and it appears from the description of the icon that it was made of wood The curse of Dvaipāyana, mentioned in the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*[166] and Kauṭilya[167] on the Vṛṣṇis, is also mentioned here[168]

The 9th Aṅga the *Anuttaropapātikadaśā*[169] is practically devoid of any interest There is a *Vṛtti* by Abhayadeva[170] There are only two original pieces in this text and they contain legends of persons who were reborn in the uppermost heavens

The 10th Anga text viz the *Prasnavyākarana*[171] is not the same text[172] described in the *Sthānānga* and *Nandīsūtra* We have a *Vṛtti* by Abhayadeva[173] There are two Śrutaskandhas called Āsrava and Samvara The work throws considerable light on the social life of those days There are sections on crimes and punishments[174] Accurate descriptions of Baladeva and Vāsudeva[175] show that the images of these hero-gods were quite popular Some of these descriptions were no doubt copied from contemporary Vaiṣnava literature There are indirect references to terrible wars described in the two epics, which were fought for women like Sītā and Draupadī[176] There are many other useful details, which can only be discussed in a separate volume It is certainly much more than a mere "loquacious treatise"[177] And there is nothing in this text that can be called interpolations of post-Christian period

The 11th Anga text the *Vipākaśruta*[178] is once more an interesting and readable canonical work We have a *Vṛtti* on it by Abhayadeva[179] It has two Śrutaskandhas with ten chapters (Adhyayana) each The first Śrutaskandha is entitled *Duknavipāka,* which is much longer, and the second *Sukhavipāka,* which is less interesting

This work contains some references which are otherwise unknown The most valuable information is supplied regarding Udayana, whose priest was condemned to death for illicit connexion with the queen Padmāvatī[180] It is interesting to note that in the 6th century B C even a Brāhmana could be executed for serious crimes and it was clearly against the Smṛti laws However, we have in the story of Cārudatta in the *Mrcchakaṭika* another such example A licentious person was condemned to death by embracing a red hot image of woman (*utthipadimam*),[181] a punishment approved for such persons in the *Manusmṛti*[182] There are descriptions of various instruments[183] of torture and we are further told how prisoners were tortured in jail in those days[184] The great physician Dhanvantari[185] is condemned in the strongest possible language because he prescribed "meat diet" A ludicrous story is told in this connexion regarding the fate of this physician We learn from this text that the Yakṣas like the Devas were worshipped

with flowers, leaves, incense etc.[186] It is possible that the Vardhamānapura, mentioned in this text, is Burdwan of Bengal We are told that Mahāvīra himself visited this town.[187] Rohida of this text (p 275) may be identical with Rohitaka of the *Mahābhārata*.[188] These two towns were known for shrines dedicated to Maṇibhadra and Dharaṇa Yakṣas respectively There is a story in which a daughter-in-law is shown as killing her mother-in-law [189]

In the *Sukhavipāka*[190] we have a reference to Majjhamiyā, which is identical with Mādhyamikā, which is in Rajasthan It appears from both the parts of this canonical text that there were Yakṣa shrines almost everywhere in Northern India In the earlier Śrutaskandha there is a valuable description of a village inhabited by robbers (*corapallī*) [191] Here also the leader of the robbers is a person called Vijaya,[192] who, we are told, had spies (*cārapuriṣā*) like the king The king of the country in which this *corapallī* was situated, by applying Machiavellian tactics, succeeded in capturing alive the son of this robber chief. The role played by prostitutes is also described in attractive language [193]

Let us now turn our attention to the Upānga texts which are 12 in number, they are—*Aupapātika, Rājapraśnīya, Jīvajīvābhigama, Prajñāpanā, Sūryaprajñapti, Jambūdvīpaprajñapi, Candraprajñapti, Nirayavalikā, Kalpāvatamśikā, Puspikā, Puṣpacūlikā* and *Vṛṣṇidaśā* The first Upānga text viz the *Aupapātika* (*Ovavāiya*)[194] is probably the most important among the Upānga works We have in the very beginning[195] of this text, a smart and beautiful description of the celebrated Pūrnabhadra Yakṣa-shrine of the city of Campā This description leaves no room to doubt that it was a great temple-complex of the 6th century B C It was probably built a few centuries earlier; but nothing of it has survived, simply because the entire complex was built of wood At the time when Lord Mahāvīra visited the city of Campā, Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru was the king of Anga-Magadha with his temporary capital in that city This text further proves that Kūṇika had great respect for Mahāvīra [196] The name of his queen is given as Dhāriṇī, which is, however, a stock name for queens in Jain literature Let us further remember that

the Pūrṇabhadra shrine of Campā was a favourite resort of Mahāvīra. The Buddhist texts describe Yakṣa Pūrṇabhadra,[197] but do not show any acquaintance with this shrine of Campā. This text also contains the tragic story of the death of the Brahmin Ambada Parivrājaka with his 7 disciples,[198] when he was going from Kāmpilya to Purimatāla It is interesting to note, that according to the description of the text, the city of Kāmpilya (Kampillapura) was spread over both the banks of the Ganges[199] The 72 Arts are enumerated in this text also[200] This text also refers to several types of Parivrājakas belonging to Brāhmana and Kṣatriya castes[201] The following 8 types of Brāhmana (*māhana*) Parivrājakas are enumerated—Kṛṣna, Karakanḍa, Ambaṣṭha, Parāsara, Kṛṣna(2), Kṛsna—Dvaipāyana, Devagupta and Nārada The 8 types of Kṣatriya Parivrājakas are the following—Sīlaī, Sasihāra, Naggai, Bhaggaī, Videha, Rājarāja, Rājā-Rāma and Bala We are not aware of any other similar list of Parivrājakas elsewhere is the Indian literature This text also refers to the Ājīvikas[202] and Ninhavas[203]

The second Upānga work *Rājapraśnīya*[204] is an equally important Āgamic text There is a commentary on it by Malayagiri, a contemporary of the celebrated Hemacandra,[205] who flourished in the middle of the 12th century A D The text is divided into two parts The first part contains a few interesting references, as for example, *cīnapaṭṭa*,[206] *picchāghara*[207] (*prekṣāgṛha*) *devakula*,[208] *thūva* (*stūpa*)[209] etc Some of the descriptions remind us of the *Aupapātika Sūtra* The second part which contains an account of the conversation between king Paesī of Seyaviyā and Kumārasramaṇa Keśin, a follower of Pārśva is more important and it reminds us of the *Pāyāsi Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*[210] The Kumāraśramana monks were known to Pānini[211] There is strong reason to believe that the Buddhist author of the *Pāyāsi Suttanta* was influenced by this Jain text In the Buddhist poem also the scene of the conversation is said to be Setavyā, which is evidently the same as Seyaviyā There is no need to connect this king with Prasenajit of Śrāvastī[212] It is quite interesting to note that a few of the conversations[213] are similar to what we get in the *Milindapañha*. Among the other important references in this part we have

horses of Kāmboja,[214] festivals of popular gods,[215] different types of punishments for different castes etc [216]

The 3rd Upāṅga text *Jīvājīvābhigama*[217] has nine sections and altogether 272 Sūtras There is a commentary[218] on it by Malayagiri, who has referred to the various readings of the text. According to him it is an Upānga belonging to the *Sthānanga*. Although it is not a very extensive text, it contains a very good number of useful references, some of which will be noticed below Almost all the important information are to be found in the 3rd section (*pratipatti*) of this work Among the various types of wine, menioned here, we have the wine called Kāpisāyana which is also mentioned by Pāṇini (IV 1 29) and Kautilya (II 25) This wine was produced in the Kāpiśī country (Afghanistan) This section also refers to the cloth produced in Sindhu, Dravida, Vanga and Kalinga countries Among the ornaments, there is a reference to the necklace made of Dīnāra coins which is also referred to in the *Kalpasūtra*[219] There are also useful lists of *ratnas*, weapons, metals, *bhavanas*, *naṭas*, *utsavas*, *yānas*, diseases, scripts, servants, utensils, etc

The 4th Upānga is called *Prajñāpanā*[220] Its auhor was Ārya Śyāma, who flourished some 376 years afer Mahāvīra There are commentaries on it by Haribhadra[221] (8th century) and Malayagiri[222] It is the largest Upānga text and has altogether 349 Sūtras Like the 3rd Upānga it also contains lists of various things The most significant however is the list of 25½ Janapadas with their capitals[223] We are reproducing the list with the names of their capitals in bracket—Magadha (Rājagṛha), Anga (Campā), Vanga (Tāmralipti), Kalinga (Kāñcanapura), Kāśi (Vārānasī), Kosala (Sāketa), Kuru (Gajapura), Kuśāvarta (Śauripura), Pañcāla (Kāmpilya), Jāngala (Ahicchatra,), Saurāṣṭra (Dvārāvatī), Videha (Mithilā), Vatsa (Kauśāmbī), Śāṇḍilya (Nandipura), Malaya (Bhadrilapura), Matsya (Vairāṭa), Varanā (Acchā), Daśārna (Mṛttikāvatī), Cedi (Śukti), Sindhu-Sauvīra (Vītibhaya), Śūrasena (Mathurā), Bhamgi (Pāpā), Vaṭṭā (Māsapurī), Kunāla (Śrāvastī), Lāḍha (Koṭivarṣa), Kekaya ½ (Śvetikā) In the same Sūtra a good number of so-called non-Aryan tribes like Śaka, Yavana, Cīna, Hūṇa, Romaka, Andhra, Pārasa etc are mentioned A large

number of professional classes are also referred to in the same Sūtra. The various scripts, which have already been noticed, are also mentioned in this Sūtra

The 5th and 6th Upānga texts *Sūryaprajñapti*[224] and *Candraprajñapti* throw a flood of light on ancient Indian knowledge of astronomy The present *Candraprajñapti* is not in any way different from the *Sūryaprajñapti* The 7th Upānga text the *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*[225] throws some light not only an astronomy but also geography It has altogether 176 Sūtras The most significant is the reference to Alasamḍa i e Alexandria in Sūtra No 52 . The same Sūtra refers to Ārabaka, Romaka, Yavanadvīpa, Simhala, Barbara etc The god Naigameṣī (Kārttikeya) is mentioned in the Sūtra No 115

The last five Upānga texts are actually five *vargas* (sections) of one Upānga work viz. the *Nirayavalikā*[226] As we have already said, this particular work throws some welcome light on the contemporary history We have already referred to the fight between Ceṭaka and Ajātasatru described in this Upānga text This Upānga text has a *Vṛtti*[227] by Candrasūri, who flourished in the early 12th century A D We are told that one of the sons of Śrenika called Kāla (his mother was one Kālī,[228] described as *cullamāuyā* i e step-mother of Kūnika) was killed by Ceṭaka in the *Rathamusala* war According to the author[229] of the text Kāla went to Naraka because he was killed in a war Unlike the author of the *Gītā* the Jain writer of the *Nirayavalikā* never believes that the death in the battlefield enables the hero to attain *swarga* According to this text Śreṇika-Bimbisāra committed suicide,[230] a statement contradicted by the evidence of the Buddhist canon We further learn that afterwards the remose-striken Kūnika-Ajātaśatru transferred his capital to Campā [231] However he description of the war[232] appears to be exaggerated. Ten other brothers of Ajātasatru are also named in this text, including Vehalla, son of Cellanā [233] Abhaya is described as the eldest son of Śrenika by his wife Nandā, but according to the Buddhists his mother was one Padmāvatī a prostitute of Ujjayinī.[234] The Buddhist texts, however, confirm the Jain account that this prince was originally a devotee of Mahāvīra.[235] We are told by the Jain author of this

Upāṅga text that with the help of this prince Śrenika fulfilled the strage *dohada*-longing[236] of Cellanā

The second *Varga* of this text called *Kalpāvataṁśikā* does not contain much information But in the 3rd *Varga* called *Puṣpitā* there is a good deal of information The story of the conversion of Brāhmana Somila by Pārśva is told in the 3rd chapter of this text From the 4th Adhyayana of this text we learn that cousin-marriage was not unpopular in those days. Here the goddess Bahuputrikā is described as the goddess looking after the welfare of the children It therefore appears that the Bahuputta shrine of Vaiśālī, mentioned in the *Bhagavatī* and the Buddhist canon, was dedicated to this goddess The 4th *Varga* entitled *Puṣpacūlikā* describes the conversion of an old spinster (*buḍḍhakumārī*) called Bhūtā by Pārśva's principal lady-disciple Pupphacūlā The 5th *Varga* entitled *Vṛṣṇidaśā* as the name indicates, describes the story of the Vṛṣṇis, but adds nothing new. There is also a reference to the Manidatta Yakṣa-shrine of Rohītaka

Let us now turn our attention to the Mulasūtra texts, which are acually three[237] in number They are— *Uttarādhyayana, Āvaśyaka* and *Daśavaikālika* There is little doubt that all these three texts are works of hoary antiquity and were probably composed in the pre-Mauryan period For the historian, however, the most important is the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[238] The first commentary on this important work is ascribed to Bhadrabāhu and is known as the *Uttarādhyayananiryukti*[239] It was followed by the *Cūrnī*, written by Jinadāsagani Mahattara in the 7th century A D There are also a number of later commentaries[240] which prove that it was always regarded as one of the most important Āgamic works

The work is divided into 36 Adhyayanas The first is entitled *Vinayaśruta* It deals with the everyday conduct of a Jain ascetic The very character of this chapter shows, that it incorporates the personal teachings of Mahāvīra and was probably composed in the 5th century B C. "Better" says Mahāvīra "I should subdue my self by self-control than be subdued by others with fetters and corporal punishment" Some of the finest teachings of Lord Mahāvīra are incorporated in this poem, which

does not compare unfavourably with the *Dhammapada* of the Buddhists A few of the references, contained in this poem, are quite valuable as they throw light on social, cultural and political history of the earlier period It further appears that the author of this Sūtra was quite at home with the Vaiṣṇava literature and had perhaps some deference for Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu We are quoting here the passage[241] from the 11th chapter "As Vāsudeva, the god with conch, discus, who fights with an irresistible strength (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk" This shows that at the time this poem was composed, the worship of Visnu Vāsudeva was quite popular and their images were also known A well known verse regarding the burning of Mithilā put in the mouth of one of the Janakas of Mithilā, occurs both in the *Dhammapada* and this text[242]. Among the interesting geographical names we have Kāmboja[243], Hastināpura[244], Kāmpilya[245], Daśārṇa[246], Kālañjara,[247] Sauvīra[248] etc The king Karakandu of Kalinga,[249] mentioned in this poem was a pious and good-fearing gentleman and is also mentioned in the Buddhist canon[250], which probably proves that he was a historical figure and flourished not later than the 6th century B C Kings like Nagnajit[251], Dvimukha[252] etc are also mentioned in the earlier Indian literature[253] There are also interesting references to false *kārṣāpana* (*kūdakahāvana*)[254] and *kākini*[255] which show that different types of coins were quite well known at the time of its composition From the mythological point of view we have references to Kāmdhenu[256], Vaiśramana[257] and Nalakūvara[258]

There are at least two chapters of this Sūtra which deserve our special attention The first is the 23rd chapter recording the conservation beween Kesin, a follower of Pārśva and Gautama Indrabhūti, the famous disciple of Lord Mahāvīra Both were men of great learning, both had respect for each other However, the disciple of Mahāvīra, by his superior knowledge, succeeded in destroying the doubts of Keśin and converting him to the faith of the last Tīrthankara The 25th chapter is another magnificent piece of poetic creation Here the Brāhmanical bloody sacrifice is the subject of criticism The utter hollowness of such practices is demonstrated by Jayaghoṣa, who was a Jain

recluse belonging to the Brāhmaṇa caste The definition of a Brāhmaṇa is thus given by Jayaghoṣa—"He who is not defiled by pleasures as a lotus growing in the water is not wetted by it, him we call a Brāhmana" Then Jayaghoṣa declares "One does not become a Śramaṇa by the tonsure, nor a Brāhmaṇa by the sacred syllable *Om* nor a Muni by living in the woods, nor a Tāpasa by wearing cloths of *kuśa* grass and bark" According to him one becomes a Śramana by equanimity, a Brāhmana by chastity, a Muni by knowledge, and a Tāpasa by penance. This great Nirgrantha Brāhmana Jayaghoṣa, according to this chapter, afterwards succeeded in converting Vijayaghosa, a sacrificing Brāhmana of Vārāṇasī

The *Āvaśyaka*[259] is also considered an extremely important Jain Āgamic poem It has six Adhyāyas There is a *Niryukti*[260] on it by Bhadrabāhu There is also the magnificent *Viśeṣ-āvaśyakabhāsya*[261] by Jinabhadragani written in 531 Śaka and the *Cūrṇī*[262] by Jinadāsagani Mahattara, a work of the 7th century A D We have a *Ṭīkā*[263] by Haribhadra (8th century) and also quite a few later commentaries. From the historian's point of view, however, the poem does not seem to possess much importance However, for a student of Jain monachism this text is of great significance The *Daśavaikālika*[263A], according to the tradition, was composed by the Brāhmana Nirgrantha ascetic Sayyambhava (Sejjambhava) for his son Manaka This Sayyambhava was a resident of Rājagṛha[264] He was a disciple of Prabhava, who in turn was a pupil of Jambūsvāmin Śayyambhava, therefore, should be assigned to the early 4th century B C, and this poem should be regarded as a product of that date It has an extremely valuable *Niryukti*[265] by Bhadrabāhu, a *Cūrṇī*[266] by Jinadāsagani and a *Tīkā*[267] by Haribhadra There are altogether 12 Adhyayanas including two Cūlikās Like the *Uttarādhyayana* this poem is full of noble sentiments There are verses which could only be composed by a supreme poet-philosopher Most of the verses speak of the monastic life to be led by a Jain monk However the teachings of Śayyambhava, we feel, are meant for every right-thinking monk or even worldly people. The poem has a universal appeal.

There are altogether six Chedasūtras, they are—*Niśītha*, *Mahāniśītha*, *Vyavahāra*, *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Bṛhatkalpa* and *Pañcakalpa* The Chedasūtras may be compared with the Buddhists Vinaya texts, although they are somewhat later works

The first Chedasūtra is the *Niśītha*[268], which is the largest text of this group and was originally the 5th section of the 2nd Śrutaskandha of the *Ācārāṅga* It is also known as the *Ācāra-prakalpa* It has a *Niryukti*[269], a *bhāṣya*[270] by Sanghadāsagaṇi and *Cūrṇī* by Jinadāsa[271] The text has altogether twenty chapters Unlike many other Jain canonical texts, this work throws considerable light on the social, religious and cultural condition of India at the time of its composition In a very good number of Sūtras the monk is asked not to be tempted by women who are always ready to destroy their chastity Several festivals are mentioned in the 8th chapter, including those mentioned elsewhere in the Jain canon

The *Mahāniśītha*[272] is probably a work of somewhat later period and is closely linked with the *Niśītha* Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamā-sramana, who flourished in the 6th century A D, is said to have rescued this text from complete destruction[273] Several Jain savants like Haribhadra, Devagupta, Yaśovardhana, Ravigupta, Nemicandra etc had honoured this text[274] It has six Adhyayanas and two Cūlikās There are a few interesting stories which make this text somewhat readable The *Vyavahāra*[275] is also an interesting canonical text dealing with rules of the Jain church It is ascribed to Bhadrabāhu and has altogether ten chapters The *Niryukti* on this text is written by Bhadrabāhu himself, there is a *bhāṣya* on it by an unknown author and a commentary by Malayagiri This text also throws considerable light on the everyday life of the Jain monks The 4th Cheda-sūtra text *Daśāśrutaskandha*[276] is quite well known because its 8th chapter (Adhyayana) is the famous *Kalpasūtra*[277] The work is ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, who it appears, should be distinguished from Bhadrabāhu, the author of several *Niryuktis* The earlier sections of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, like other Chedasūtra texts, deals with the disciplinary rules of the Jain monks The 8th section i e the *Kalpasūtra* gives a very authentic account of

Mahāvīra's life, which we have already discussed In the 9th chapter of this work Kūṇika is represented as meeting Lord Mahāvīra in the Pūrnabhadra shrine of Campā This reminds us of the *Aupapātikasūtra*, where the meeting of the two has been elaborately described. The last section refers to Śrenika's meeting with Mahāvīra at Rājagṛha

The 5th Chedasūtra text is the *Kalpa* or the *Bṛhatkalpa*[278]. There is a *Niryukti*, a *bhāṣya* and a *Vivarana* on it The *Niryukti* and *bhāṣya* verses are, however, indistinguishable The work is divided into six sections In an important passage of the first section a monk is asked not go beyond Anga-Magadha in the east, Kausāmbī in the South, Thūnā (possibly Sthāneśvara) in the West and Kunālavisaya (N Kosala) in the North This possibly proves that the text was composed at a time when Jainism did not reach Gujarat, Kalinga or any other distant part of India There are interesting details in other sections of this text The *Pañcakalpa*[279] is the same as the present *Pañcakalpa-mahābhāṣya*, which was formerly a part of the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* The *bhāṣya* is written by Sanghadāsagani A few regard *Jīta-kalpasūtra*[280] written by Jinabhadragani as a Chedasūtra text

We should now turn our attention to the two texts the *Nandīsūtra* and the *Anuyogadvāra*, which are not strictly canonical works, but were regarded as sacred texts from very early times The *Nandīsūtra*[281] has a *Cūrnī*[282] by *Jinadāsagani* and a *Ṭīkā*[283] by Haribhadra Malayagiri also wrote a commentary on it [284] The original *Nandīsūtra* has 90 *gāthās* and 59 Sūtras If refers to the teachers who even flourished in the 5th century A D like Skandila, Nāgārjuna etc *Bhārata* (or *Mahābhārata*), *Rāmāyana*, *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, *Bhāgavatapurāna*, *Pātañjala* etc are mentioned in a passage[285] of the text The reference to the *Bhāgavata* is interesting since it shows that this particular Purāṇa existed in such an early date The *Anuyogadvāra*[286] is ascribed to Āryarakṣita It too, has a *Cūrnī* by Jinadāsagaṇi and a *Ṭīkā* by Haribhadra. The passage that refers to the *Bhārata*, *Rāmāyana*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Bhāgavata* etc also occurs with slight variation in this text [287]

The two works *Piṇḍa*[288] and *Oghaniryuktis*[289] are also sometimes regarded as Āgamic texts. They too contain various

rules for the monks and are ascribed to Bhadrabāhu There is a quotation from Cānakya in the *Oghaniryukti*[290] Both the texts have commentaries

The *Aṅgavijjā*[291] or the text dealing with the science of prognostication, though not a part of the Jain canon, is one of the most remarkable Jain sacred texts This science was known to the Buddhists[292] and Brāhmanical Hindus[293] from quite early times. The present text of the *Aṅgavijjā* is a product of the early centuries of the Christian era and has altogether sixty chapters This work has been fittingly described as the treasure-house for the cultural history of India of the early Christian period[294] Like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya it throws light on administration, social and cultural life We have long lists of professions,[295] ornaments,[296] food-grains,[297] conveyances,[298] textiles,[299] eatables,[300] deities[301] and many other important items The list of coins[302] given in this text is extremely interesting as well as informative We have not only well known coin names like *dīnāra, suvaṇa, kāhāpaṇa, purāna, nānaka, kākaṇī* etc, but also two new names which are not found elsewhere in the early Indian literature They are *kṣatrapaka*[303] and *sateraka*[304] The first type was obviously the coins issued by Kṣatrapa kings of Ujjayinī This type has been identified by scholars with the *Rudradāmaka*[305] coins mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa The second type of coin viz *sateraka* is the Sanskrit or Prakrit equivalent of Greek 'Stater' which was introduced by Indo-Greek kings

This text also throws welcome light on the different types of boats Among the more interesting names we have Koṭṭimba, Tappaka and Sanghāda[306] It is of great interest to note that all these three types of boats are mentioned by the author of the *Periplus*,[307] a text of the 2nd half of the 1st century A D Tappaka of this text is evidently identical with Trappaga of the *Periplus* and Koṭṭimba with Cotymba, Sanghāda has been identified wihh Sangara of the *Periplus* All these three types of boats are described as middle-sized (*majjhimakāya*) boats in the *Angavijjā*

In the list of female deities[308] we have a number of foreign names, which are not found elsewhere in the Indian literature They are—Apalā, Anāditā, Airāni, Sālimālinī etc Apalā is

the Greek goddess Pallas Athene, Anāḍhiā is the Avestan Anahita, Airāni is the Roman goddess Irene and Sālimālini is the Moon-goddess Selene. There are interesting references[309] to women belonging to Lāṭa (Lāḍi), Yavana (Jonikā), Barbara (Babbarī), Pulinda (Pulindī), Andhra (Andhī), Draviḍa (Babbrī), etc We have an exhaustive list of architectural terms[310] in this text, the list of *gotras* are also equally exhaustive[311] There is also a section[311A] on sexual love Among the male gods[312] Vaiśravaṇa is pictured as the god of merchants and rich people, Śiva was the lord of cows, buffaloes, and sheep Senāpati Kārttikeya is associated with the cock and peacock and Viśākha with sheep, ram, boy and sword Several other gods are mentioned and they are also known from other sources

The *Angavijjā* is undoubtedly one of the most useful works of the early Christian period. Since it refers to Śaka and Indo-Greek coins it appears that the work was written by 300 A.D, although it incorporates materials of a much earlier period The language is frankly difficult, but it was undoubtedly composed in Western India The absence of any commentary creates a great difficulty for modern scholars The long lists of objects of daily use make it possible for us to understand some of the basic features of early Indian life

Commentaries The earliest among the canonical commentaries are the Niryuktis (Nijjuti), which are written in the Āryā metre and are in a mixed Prakrit They are ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, who should be distinguished from his namesake, the celebrated author of the *Kalpasūtra* This is definitely proved by the fact that in the *Daśāśrutaskandhaniryukti* there is a verse addressed to Śrutakevalin Bhadrabāhu[313] Further, quite a few other Jain savants of a much later period are referred to in other Niryukti works, which also show that these Niryuktis could not have been composed before the Gupta period However, there are reasons to believe that some of the Niryukti verses go back to an earlier period[314] The Niryuktis on following Āgamic texts are known—*Āvaśyaka, Daśavaikālika, Uttarādhyayana, Ācārānga, Sūtrakṛtānga, Daśāśrutaskandha, Bṛhatkalpa*,

Vyavahāra, *Sūryaprajñapti* and *Ṛṣibhāṣita* Of these the last two have not yet been discovered.

The *Āvaśyakaniryukti*[315] is undoubtedly the most important Niryukti text A number of commentaries on it are known[316] This work refers to several later Jain monks including Ārya Maṅgu of Mathurā who has been identified by us with his namesake, mentioned in a Mathurā inscription Since it refers to Sālivāhana or Śatavāhana, we have ta assume that the work was composed after the Sātavāhana period The war between Nahapāna and Gautamīputra Sātakarni was known to the Jain commentators including the author of this Niryukti[317] The author of this text refers to the *Nandīsūtra* which proves that this particular Niryukti text was written after the composition of that text This work is referred to in the *Mūlācāra* (6 193), an early Digambara text

The *Daśavaikālikaniryukti* is a much shorter work consisting of only 371 *gāthās*[318] It has also a few interesting references[319] In the *Uttarādhyayananiryukti*[320] there is a reference to Vāsavadattā, the famous quen of Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī.[321] The *Ācārāṅganiryukti*[322] refers to the Buddhists (Sauddhodani) in one place This text is otherwise useless for our purpose. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅganiryukti*[322] refers to Nālandā and informs us that it is near Rājagṛha The *Daśāśrutaskandhaniryukti*[324] begins with an invocation to Bhadrabāhu, who is obviously Bhadrabāhu I The *Bṛhatkalpaniryukti*[325] and *Vyavahāraniryukti*[326] do not contain much information

We do not get much information from the Niryukti texts simply because they are written in a concise and terse style The Bhāṣya commentaries, like the Niryuktis, are written in verse and follow closely the style of the latter There are altogether 10 Bhāṣya commentaries on the following texts—*Āvaśyaka*, *Daśavaikālika* *Uttarādhyayana*, *Bṛhatkalpa*, *Vyavahāra*, *Niśitha*, *Jitakalpa*, *Oghaniryukti* and *Piṇḍaniryukti*. In a few cases, it is difficult to separate the Bhaṣya from the Niryukti Among the Bhāṣya writers only two names are known, viz. those of Jinabhadra and Saṅghadāsagaṇi As we have already seen, Jinabhadragaṇi, flourished in Śaka 531 according to a manuscript of the *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* He has further been identified with

the monk Jinabhadra Vācanācārya mentioned in an image inscription from Akota (near Baroda). We have further seen that this monk was responsible for the rescuing of the *Mahāniśītha* manuscript, while he was staying at Mathurā Among his commentaries *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* and *Jītakalpabhāṣya* are known We further learn from the above-mentioned inscription that he belonged to the Nivrti *kula*

The *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*[327] is undoubtedly one of the most remrkable creations from the doctrinal point of view In his other work the *Jītakalpabhāṣya* this great Jain savant has also shown his great erudition[328] The later writers had great deference for this Jain philosopher[329]

Sanghadāsagaṇi is the reputed author of the *Bṛhatkalpa-bhāṣya, Nisīthabhāṣya* and *Vyavahārabhāṣya* According to a few, he should be identified with Sanghadāsagaṇi Vācaka, the author of the first half of the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, a Prakrit romance[330] There is no reason[331] why this identification should be rejected If we accept this identification, we have to place Sanghadāsa before Jinabhadra, who in his *Viśeṣaṇavatī*[332] has referred to the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* That author has further shown his intimate acquaintance with the *Vyavahārabhāṣya*[333]

The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[334] is a work of considerable length. It has altogether 6490 verses and it is divided into six parts It refers to preceptor Kālakācārya of Ujjayinī, who according to it,[335] went to Suvarnabhūmi (Burma) This Kālakācārya was a contemporary of Gardhabhila of Ujjayinī, and seems to have flourished in the 1st century B.C This text also refers to the glorious condition of Jainism in the Mathurā region There are also a few romantic verses in this poem, which prove that the Jain monks understood perfectly sentiments connected with heart. This text also throws some light on the coinage of those days. According to it the value of two silver coins of Dakṣiṇāpatha was equivalent to one Nelaka of Kāñcīpura, and that of two silver coins of Kāñcī was equivalent to one silver coin of Pāṭaliputra city[336] This work also refers to the *devanirmita stūpa* of Mathurā, which has already been noticed in a previous chapter.

The *Nisīthabhāṣya*[337] has a very good number of verses common with the *Vyavahāra* and *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*. In the beginning of this commentary we have the story of the four cunning people (*dhūrta*) which was afterwards used by Haribhadra in his *Dhūrtākhyāna*. It also refers to the philosopher Siddhasena and the commentator Govindavācaka, who composed the *Govindaniryukti*.[338] A few poetic and romantic verses are also to be found in this *Bhāṣya*. It also refers to Tālodaka (lake) of Tosalī and the hot-spring of Rājagṛha. The *Vyavahārabhāṣya*[339] is also a work of considerable size. There are many verses against women which remind us of the Smṛti writers. We further learn that people celebrated with great pomp the *stūpamaha* festival at Mathurā. Stories are told regarding Kālaka, Sātavāhana, Murunda, Cānakya and others.[340] The Śakas of Ujjayinī are also mentioned.[341] The other *Bhāṣyas* are not so important and we do not get much information in them.[342]

Let us now turn our attention to the Cūrnī texts which, unlike the Niryukti and Bhāṣya, are written in prose. The most important Cūrnī writer was Jinadāsagani Mahattara, for whom we have a definite date. According to his *Nandīcūrnī*[343] he wrote this work in Śaka 598 corresponding to 676 A.D. The following Cūrnīs are generally attributed to him—*Nisītha viśesacūrnī, Nandīcūrnī, Anuyogadvāracūrnī, Āvasyakacūrnī, Dasavaikālikacūrnī, Uttarādhyayanacūrnī and Sūtrakṛtāngacūrnī*.

The *Nisīthaviśesacūrnī*[344] is an important Jain commentary. This work refers to the Maurya emperor Samprati as a great patron of Jainism.[345] This emperor, according to this work, made Jainism popular in Saurāṣṭra, Andhra, Damila, Marahaṭṭa etc. The detailed story of Kālakācārya and Gardabhila is told here and in this connexion we are told that the Jain monk Kālakācārya brought the army of Pārasa (Persia) to Hindugadeśa (Hindusthan) in order to destroy the dynasty of Gardabhila of Ujjayinī (3.59). He refers to the philosopher Siddhasena and to the work called *Kālannāna* written by Pādalipta. The stories of Naravāhanadatta, Tarangavatī, Malayavatī, Magadhasenā etc. were known to him. He was also at home with texts like the *Setubandha, Vasudevacarita, Ceṭakakathā* etc. Among other Cūrnīs, written by Jinadāsa, the *Āvaśyakacūrnī*[346] has a prominent

place It gives a detailed account of Lord Mahāvīra's wanderings which is obviously based on the accounts of the *Bhagavatī* and *Ācārānga* The account of the Jain monk Vajrasena and his visit to the city Sūrpāraka are told in this commentary Jinadāsa also was an expert story-teller and some of the stories, told by him, were copied by later writers He further quotes a verse from Bhāsa's *Pratijñāyaugandharāyana* (3 9) Jinadāsa also refers to a terrible flood that visited Śrāvastī 13 years after Mahāvīra's enlightenment[347] The *Nandīcūrnī*[348] mentions the the council held at Mathurā under Skandila This work, as we have already noticed, was completed in Śaka 598 The *Daśavaikālikacūrnī*[349] has also a few interesting stories In one particular story[350] the Buddhists are ridiculed for their unmonk-like habits There is another *Daśavaikālikacūrnī*[351], which was written by Agastyasimha, who belonged to the Verasāmi (Vajrasvāmī) *śākhā* of the Kodīgana (Kodiya of the *Therāvalī*) The Verasāmi *śākhā* is the same as Vairī of that text Agastyasimha was the disciple of one Ṛṣigupta and it appears that he flourished before Jinadāsa The *Sūtrakṛtāngacūrnī*[352] refers to the mosquito menace in the Tāmralipta country[353]

Haribhadra, who flourished in the middle of the 8th century A D, and who was a senior contemporary of Udyotanasūri, has left a number of Sanskrit commentaries called *Vṛttis* He was a disciple of Jinabhata[354] and belonged to the Vidyādhara *kula*. As we have already noticed he was a native of Citrakūṭa (Chitor) and was one of most learned men of his time His commentaries on the following Āgamic texts are well known—*Āvaśyaka, Daśavaikalika, Jīvābhigama, Prajñāpanā, Nandīsūtra, Anuyogadvāra* and *Pindaniryukti* He has expressed his indebtedness to the earlier commentators including Jinadāsa Śīlānka[355], who lived a century later, also wrote several commentaries, of which the *Ācārānga*[356] and the *Sūtrakṛtāngavivaranas*[357] have survived Another commentator was Śāntisūri who flourished in the early 11th century A D, and was a contemporary of Paramāra Bhoja, Caulukya Bhīma, and the poet Dhanapāla. We have his *Uttarādhyayanaṭīkā*[358] In this commentary he has referred to the text, accepted in the council, held under the presidentship of

Nāgārjuna Śāntisūri belonged to the Koṭikagaṇa and Vaira-śākhā[359]

Abhayadeva, who lived in the 11th century A D, wrote commentaries on all the Anga texts, except the first two He also wrote a commentary on the *Aupapātika* We have two definite dates for him, they are Vikrama Samvat 1120 and 1128, corresponding to 1062 and 1070 A D[360] It is evident from his works that he spent the major part of his life at Aṇahilapāṭaka (Patan, Gujarat) His preceptor was Jineśvara of Candrakula[361]. He further admits his indebtedness to Droṇācārya of Aṇahila-pāṭaka who corrected the texts of his commentaries. It should, however, be pointed out that the commentaries of Abhayadeva do not help us much in understanding the Jain Āgamic texts The Jain commentators of post-Gupta period had practically no idea regarding eastern India where the canonical texts were composed. They also had no understanding of the teachings of the contemporaries of Mahāvīra Unlike Buddhaghoṣa, they received no help from their predecessors It is also doubtful whether they understood fully the Ardha-Māgadhī language in which the Jain canon is written

Lastly we should mention the name of Malayagiri, who was a contemporary of the celebrated Hemacandra. We have at least twenty of his Vṛttis and Ṭīkās[362], but like the commentaries of Abhayadeva these voluminous texts do not enlighten us much

NOTES

1 Vol II, p 187

2 We have a definite date for him viz Śaka 598, see *Nandīsūtra-cūrṇī* (Prakrit Text Society), p 83—" *Śakarājño paṃcasu varṣaśteṣu vyatikrāmteṣu aṣṭanavateṣu Namdyadhyayanacūrṇī samāptā iti*"

3 See J C Jain, *Prakrit Sāhitya kā itihāsa*, p 37 fn 1

4 See *Uttarādhyayanavṛtti* by Kamalsamyama p 23 However, it should be remembered that this statement comes from the pen of a later writer

5 See *Prakrit Proper Names*, Vol I, pp 368 f

6 Edited by Āgamodaya Samiti, Surat, V.S. 1972-73 (1916 A.D.), see also Jacobi's translation in *S.B.E.* Vol 22, pp. 1-213. The personal copy of the present writer is the edition published from Thāngadh (Saurāṣṭra), Vīra Saṁvat 2489 (1963). For a list of different other editions, see *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad itihāsa*, Varanasi, 1966, Vol I, p. 62 fn

7 See *Prakrit Proper Names*, Vol I, p 87

8 *Loc cit.*

9 Ed Dhanpat Singh, Calcutta, V S 1936, also Āgamodaya Samiti, Surat, V S 1972-73

10 Ratlam, 1928-29 (Ṛṣabhadeva Keśarimalji Śvetāmbara Samsthā)

11 See Jainānanda Pustakālaya, Surat, 1935

12 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol III, p 384

13 See *S B E*, Vol XXII, pp 12-13

14 *Ibid*, p 20

15 *Ibid*, p 26

16 *Ibid*, p 92

17 I 131 3-4 (Cr ed), IV 12 12-13

18 See Chatterjee, A K, *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition*, p 167

19 I 63 18-19

20 1st Rock Edict (see Sircar *Select Inscriptions* etc, pp 15-16)

21 See Jacobi (*S B E*), Vol 22, p 158 see also for the original Thāngadh ed, p 139 (XIV 1)

22 II 11 (the word there is *cinapaṭṭa*)

23 Jacobi, *op. cit* p 183

24 *Ibid*, pp 84-5 (original) IX 3

25 Edited (Āgamodaya Samiti, 1917), for the English translation see *S B E*, Vol XLV, pp 235-451 Hindi translation by Amolaka Ṛsi, Hyderabad, Vīra Samvat, 2446 For various other editions see *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol I, p 127 fn 1

26 Ed P L Vaidya, Poona, 1928, also included in Āgamodaya edition

27 Ṛṣabhadeva Keśarīmala Śvetāmbara Samsthā, Ratlam, 1941

28 Included in the Āgamodaya edition. This is known as the *Vivaraṇa* of Śilāṅka

29 *S.B.E.*, Vol XLV, p 256

30 *Ibid*, p 261

31 *Ibid*, pp. 268-69

32 *Ibid.*, p 268

33 *Ibid.*, p 274

34 1 1 10 (Chowkhamba ed)

35 Jacobi, *op cit.*, pp 301, 310

36 Translated by F L. Woodward, *Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon*, Part II, p. 188.

37 Vol III (tr E. M Hare), p 175
38 Jacobi's translation, p 333
39 *Ibid*, p 370
40 Chowkhamba edition, p 371 (Act VII)
41 Jacobi, trans p 366
42 *Ibid*, p 374
43 See *Uttarādhyayana*, XX 42 (*S B E*, Vol XLV, p. 105); *Bhagavatī* (Sailana ed), p 2662
44 Jacobi, trans, p 371
45 *Ibid*, p 418
46 *Ibid*, pp 419-420
47 See Malalasekera, *D P P N*, Vol II, pp 56-57
48 Jacobi, *op cit*, pp 420 ff
49 *Ibid*, p 421
50 *Ibid*, pp 409 ff
51 See especially *Samyutta* (Vol I trans Mrs R Davids), pp 89 ff
52 Ed. by the Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1918-20 For other editions see *Jaina Sāhitya kā Brhad itihāsa*, Vol I, p 171 fn 1
53 The commentary is included in the Āgamodaya edition.
54 See J C Jain *op cit*, p 57 fn 1 see also *Jaina Sāhitya kā Brhad itihāsa* Vol I pp 172 f
55 See 3rd Adhyayana, see also Jain, *op cit*, p 57
56 Ed Vechardas, p 243
57 See Jain, *op cit*, p 58 (4th Adhyayana)
58 See Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol II, p 8
59 See *Vin*, II 237 *Anguttara*, IV 101, V 22, *Samyutta*, II. 135, V 38
60 McCrindle *Ancient India* etc, p 38
61 See Malalasekera, *op cit*, Vol II, p 1073
62 McCrindle, *op cit*, p 97
63 Sūtra No 587
64 Sūtra No 680
65 See Jain, *op cit*, p 61 (10th Adhyayana)
66 Āgamodaya edition, Surat, 1929, for other editions, See *Jaina Sāhitya kā Brhad itihāsa* Vol I, p 172, fn 2
67 The commentary is included in the Āgamodaya edition, see also *Jain Sāhitya kā Brhad itihāsa* Vol III, pp 400 ff
68 Sūtra No 18
69 Ed R G Basak, Vol I, p 160
70 P 125 (ed P L Vaidya)
71 Sūtra No 72
72 II 4 17
73 Edited with Abhayadeva's *vrtti* by the Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1918-21 For some other editions, see *Jaina Sāhitya kā Brhad itihāsa*, Vol I, p 187 fn 1 The personal copy of the present author

is the edition published in seven volumes by the Akhila Bhāratīya Jaina Samskṛti Rakṣak Saṅgha, Sailana, M P

74 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol III, pp 402 ff.

75 (Sailana ed) p 391

76 P 440.

77 Pp 473 ff

78 P 496

79 See Malalasekera *op cit*, Vol I, p 992

80 P 509

81 P 550, from p 708 (3rd Śataka) we learn that these four Lokapālas were Soma, Yama, Varuṇa and Vaiśravana

82 P 567

83 P 578

84 Pp 572 ff

85 See pp 606, 648

86 P 716

87 P 752

88 P 794

89 P 803

90 P 887

91 See pp 1478, 2759

92 This is also confirmed by the evidence of the Pāli Buddhist works and Brāhmanical Sūtra literature

93 P 921

94 P 1037

95 Pp 1190 ff

96 See p 1206

97 (Gitā Press ed) VI 1 27 ff

98 P 1203

99 Pp 1385 ff

100 P 1387

101 P 1523

102 Pp 1614 ff

103 Pp 1698 ff

104 P 1704

105 Pp 1705 ff

106 P 1707

107 P 1695

108 P 1715

109 P 1888

110 P 1948

111 P 1912.

112 P 1933

113 See Malalasekera, *op cit*; Vol I, pp 1000 f

114 Pp 1960, 1966.

115 Pp 1966 ff
117 P 1986
118 *Svapnavāsavadattā* (Chowkhamba), 6th Act.
119 See Malalasekera, *op cit*, Vol II, pp 923 f
120 Pp 2231 ff
121 P 2346
122 P 2348
123 P 2425
124 *Loc cit*
125 P 2443
126 See Raychaudhuri *P H A I*, (6th edition), pp 95 ff
127 P, 2468
128 P 2476
129 P 2519
130 P 2558
131 P 2665
132 See Malalasekera, *op cit*, Vol II, p 273
133 P 2759
134 P 2762
135 Pp 2554 ff
136 Āgamodaya edition with Abhayadeva's *vṛtti*, Bombay, 1916 For other editions see *Jain Sāhitya kā Bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol I, p 217 fn 1
137 Āgamodaya ed paras, 33-42
138 See also trans N V Vaidya, para 7
139 (Gītā Press) II 14 50
140 This place is mentioned in the 2nd-century Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman, see Luders *List*, No 965
141 See Vaidya's trans, para 60
142 *Loc cit*
143 Section 25
144 10 12 ff
145 Para 73
146 Para. 74
147 Vaidya's trans, para. 118
148 For further details see my paper in *JAIH*, Vol VII, pp 159 ff.
149 See Majumdar, the *Classical Accounts of India*, pp 223-23 and p 456
150 *Harivamsa* (of Jinasena), ch 54 (ed. P L Jain)
151 Āgamodaya edition, Bombay, 1920, English translation, Hoernle, 1885-1888 (Calcutta) The present author has used the text of the work published from Poona, 1953 It includes a translation by N A Gore For other references see *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad itihāsa* Vol I, p 227 fn 1
152 Included in the Āgamodaya edition.
153 (Ed. Gore), text, p 21

154 *Ibid*, p 40

155 (Gītā Press ed.) III 15 21

156 Trans p 138

157 Āgamodaya edition, Bombay, 1920, English translation by L D Barnett, 1907 For other editions see *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol I, p 233 fn 1

158 Trans (Barnett), p 29, other references are from Barnett s translation.

159 *Ibid*, pp 30-31

160 *Ibid*, p 74

161 *Ibid*, pp 76 ff

162 *Loc cit*

163 See pp 77 ff

164 *Loc cit*

165 P 86

166 Jātaka No 454

167 I 6

168 P 80

169 Āgamodaya edition, Surat 1920 For other references see *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol I fn. 1

170 Included in the Āgamodaya edition

171 Āgamodaya edition Bombay, 1919 The present writer has used the edition from Sailana (M P), published in 1975 For other editions see *Jaina Sāhitya kā brhad itihāsa*, Vol I, p 247 fn 1

172 See Schubring, *The Doctrine of the Jainas* (translation by W Beurlen), Delhi, 1962, pp 94 f

173 Included in the Āgamodaya edition

174 (Sailana ed), pp 136 ff, 149 ff etc

175 Pp 212 f

176 P 235

177 Cf Schubring, *op cit*, p 94

178 Āgamodaya edition, Bombay, 1920 The present author has used the edition published from Kota in 1935 For other editions see *Jaina Sāhitya kā Brhad itihāsa*. Vol I, p 255 fn 1

179 Included in the Āgamodava edition

180 (Kota ed) p 200 The condemned priest was Bṛhaspatidatta, the son of Somadatta He was 64 at the time of his execution, according to our text

181 P 185

182 VIII 372, see also XI 104

183 Pp 211 ff

184 Pp. 215 ff.

185 7th Adhyayana.

186 Pp. 244, 248.

187 P 314

188 II. 32. 4
189 P 308
190 P 369
191 Pp 118 f
192 P 149
193 Pp 66, 175
194 Āgamodaya edition, Bombay, 1916 This edition also contains the *Vrtti* of Abhayadeva. The personal copy of the present author is the edition published from Sailana (1963)
195 (Sailaṇa ed) pp 10 ff
196 *Ibid*, pp 56 ff
197 See *D P P N*, Vol II, p 225
198 Pp 278 ff
199 P 279—*Gamgāe mahānaīe ubhaokūlenam Kampillapurāo*
200 P 302
201 P 270
202 Pp 212 ff
203 Pp 215 ff
204 Āgamodaya edition Bombay 1925 The present writer has consulted the edition of Vechardas, V S 1994 (Ahmedabad) This edition has a Gujarati translation For other editions see *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa,* Vol II, p 37 fn 1
205 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā brhad itihāsa,* Vol III, pp 415 f
206 (Ed Vechardas) p 88
207 *Ibid* p 197
208 P 63
209 P 218
210 See *D P P N* Vol II, p 188
211 II 1 70
212 See Schubring, *op cit*, pp 96 f
213 For an analysis of these conversations see *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa,* Vol II pp 58 ff
214 P 301
215 P 284
216 P 321
217 Nirnayasāgara ed (Bombay) 1919
218 Included in the Bombay edition
219 Jacobi, (S B E, Vol XXII), p 233
220 Āgamodaya edition, Bombay, 1918-19
221 Ratlam, 1947 (Ṛṣabhadeva Keśarīmala Saṁsthā)
223 Sūtra No 37
224 Āgamodaya edition with the *Vrtti* of Malayagiri, Bombay, 1929
225 Edited with tthe *Vṛtti* of Śānticandra, Bombay, 1920
226 Āgamodaya edition with the *Vrtti* of Candrasūri, Surat, 1922. The present author has used the edition published from Rajkot, 1960

227 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol III, p 449
228 Rajkot edition, p 11
229 *Ibid*, p 22.
230 *Ibid*, p 39
231 *Loc cit*
232 Pp 44 f
233 P 40
234 See *D P P N*, Vol I, pp 127 f
235 *Loc cit*
236 Pp 30-31
237 According to some the *Piṇḍaniryukti* and the *Oghaniryukti* are also Mūlasūtra texts See J C Jain's *Prakrit Sāhitya kā itihāsa*, p 163 and footnote
238 Edited by J Charpentier, Uppasala, 1922 For other editions see *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa* Vol II, p 144 fn 2 The standard English translation is by Jacobi in *S B E*, Vol XLV, p 1-232
239 Edited along with Śāntisūri s commentary Bombay, 1916-17
240 See Jain, J C *op cit*, p 164
241 Verse No 21
242 P 37 (Jacobi's translation)
243 *Ibid* p 47
244 *Ibid*, p 56
245 *Ibid* p 57
246 *Loc cit*
247 *Loc cit*
248 P 87
249 *Loc cit*
250 See *D P P N*, Vol I, p 531 The story of the four kings Naggaji, Nimi and Dummukha is told in the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* (No 408) It is therefore apparent that both the Jain and Buddhist authors have used the same source
251 See *Mbh*, III 254 21 (Gītā Press ed.)
252 *Aitareya Brāhmana*, 8 23, the name here is Durmukha Pāñcāla
253 By earlier Indian literature we mean the Vedic and epic texts
254 P 105 (Jacobi s trans)
255 P 28
256 P 104
257 P 117
258 *Loc cit*
259 Āgamodaya edition, Bombay, 1928 and 1932 For other editions see *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol II, p 173 fn 1
260 See Āgamodaya Samiti edition, Bombay, 1916-17
261 Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā, Vīra Saṃvat, 2427-2441
262 Ratlam, 1928 (Ṛṣabhadevji Keśarimalji Śvetāmbara Saṃsthā).
263 Included in Āgamodaya edition, Bombay, 1916-17

263A Edited by Leumann in *Z D M G*, Vol 46, pp 581-663 For other editions see *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol II, p 179 fn. 1 The personal copy of the present author is the edition, published at Sailana (M P), 3rd Reprint, 1973

264 See *Prakrit Proper Names*, Vol II, p 854

265 Included in Leumann's edition.

266 Ratlam edition, 1933 There is also the newly discovered *Cūrṇi* by Agastyasimha (Kalaśabhavamṛgendra) which has recently been published from Varanasi

267 Bhīmsī Māṇek, Bombay, 1900

268 (Sanmati Jñānapiṭha), Agra, 1957-60

269 Included in the Agra edition of the *Niśītha*

270 Included in the same edition

271 See the Agra edition

272 Ed W Schubring, Berlin, 1918

273 See *Vyavahārasūtra* thakalpa, p 19

274 See *Prakrit Sāhitya kā itihāsa* p 147, also *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa* Vol II, p 292

275 Ed. W Schubring, Leipzig, 1918 The text edited along with the *Niryukti*, *Bhāṣya* and *Vivaraṇa* of Malayagiri, Ahmedabad, Vikrama Samvat 1982-85

276 Ed Bhavnagar, Vikrama Samvat, 2011, this edition contains also the *Niryukti* and the *Cūrṇi*

277 English translation by Jacobi in *S B E* Vol 22, pp 217-311 For different editions of this valuable text see *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol II, p 217 footnote

278 Edited by Punyavijaya Bhavnagar, 1933-1942, this edition contains the *Bhāṣya* of Saṅghadāsa and the *Ṭīkās* of Malayagiri and Kṣemakīrti

279 This work has not yet been edited, see *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol III, pp 276 ff

280 Ed Jinavijaya along with *Cūrṇī* and *Ṭīkā*, Vikrama Samvat, 1983 (Ahmedabad)

281 Edited by Punyavijaya in Prakrit Text Society Series, Varanasi, 1966

282 Included in Punyavijaya's edition

283 Edited 1928, Ratlam (Ṛṣabhadevji Keśarimalji Śvetāmbarī Saṃsthā)

284 Āgamodaya Samiti edition, Bombay, 1924

285 P T S Ed., p 49 and footnote

286 Edited, 1928 (Ratlam)

287 Para. 41 (Āgamodaya Samiti)

288 Devchand Lalbhai Series, Surat, 1918

289 Āgamodaya edition, Bombay, 1919

290 P 152.

291 Prakrit Text Society edition by Punyavijaya, Varanasi, 1957
292 See *Brahmajāla Sutta* (tr Rhys Davids, 16-18)
293 *Manusmṛti* VI 20
294 See P T S edition, Introd p 55
295 Pp 159-161
296 *Ibid*, pp 162-163
297 *Ibid*, pp 165-166
298 *Ibid*, pp 164-165
299 *Ibid*, pp 163 164
300 *Ibid*, pp. 174-182
301 *Ibid*, pp 204-206, see also p 69
302 See in this connexion the paper 'Coin Names in the *Angavijjā*' by V S Agrawala included in the Introd. pp 87 ff of the P T S edition
303 P 66
304 *Loc cit*
305 See *Angavijjā*, Introd, p 90 fn 1
306 P 166
307 Paras 44 and 60
308 P 69,
309 P 68
310 Pp 136 ff
311 P 150
311A Pp 182 ff
312 Pp 204 f
313 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol III p 120
314 *Ibid*, p 68 fn 1, see also Muni Punyavijaya in *Muni Śrī Hajarimala Smṛtigrantha*, pp 718-19
315 See Āgamodaya edition Bombay, 1928-32, for various other editions, see *Jaina Sāhitya ka bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol III, p 71 fn. 1
316 See *loc cit*
317 See *Prakrit Proper Names*, Vol I, p 315
318 Ed. Leumann, *Z D M G*, Vol 46, pp 581-663
319 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol III, pp 97 ff
320 Ed (D L J P), Bombay 1919-27 see also *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol III, p 107.
321 *Gāthā* Nos 146-148
322 Āgamodaya ed, Surat, Vikrama Saṁvat 1972-73, see also Jain, J C *op cit*, p 201
323 Āgamodaya ed, Bombay, 1917, see also *Jain Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, Vol III, p 119
324 See *J S B I*, Vol III, p 120
325 *Ibid*, pp 123 f
326 *Ibid*, p. 125

327 Ed. Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā, Varanasi, Vira Samvat 2427-2441

328 For an analysis of this text see *J S B I*, Vol III, pp 130-201

329 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā brhad itihāsa,* Vol III, pp 132 f

330 *Ibid*, pp 135 f

331 J C Jain, *op cit*, p 211 rejects this identification, but gives no reason in support of his stand

332 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa,* Vol VI, p 143, also Jain, J C *op cit*, p 381

333 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā brhad itihāsa*, Vol III, p 137

334 Ed Caturavijaya and Punyavijaya in six volumes (*Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā,* Bhavnagar, 1933-42) For an analysis of this text see *Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa* Vol III, pp 213-251

335 See Jain, *op cit*, p 220, see also verse No 229

336 *Ibid*, p 227

337 Edited (Sanmati Jñānapītha), Agra, 1957-1960

338 See Jain, *op cit*, p 217

339 Edited K P Modi and Ugarchand Ahmedabad, Vikrama Samvat, 1982-85

340 See Jain, *op cit*, p 219

341 *J S B I* Vol III, p 271

342 The *Piṇḍaniryuktibhāṣya* (see Jain, *op cit* p 231) refers to the famine during the days of Candragupta which is also repeatedly mentioned in the Digambara works

343 See P T S edition, p 83

344 Edited in four volumes by Sanmati Jñānapītha, Agra 1957-60 For a detailed analysis see *J S B I*, Vol III, pp 321 ff

345 *Ibid*, Vol 4, pp 128-131

346 Ratlam edition, 1928-29

347 P 601

348 *P T S* edition, p 9

349 Ratlam, 1933

350 See Jain, *op cit*, pp 257 f

351 See for detailed description of this text *J S B I*, Vol III, pp 315 ff

352 Ratlam, 1941

353 See Jain, *op cit*, p 237

354 Cf the concluding words of the *Āvaśyakaṭīkā* quoted in *J S B I*, Vol III, p 377

355 See *J S B I*, Vol III, p 382

356 Āgamodaya edition, Vikrama Samvat 1972-73

357 Āgamodaya edition, Mehsana, 1917

358 Edited, Bombay, 1916-17

359 See *J S B I*, Vol III, p 393

360 *Ibid*, p 396

361 *Ibid*, p 414

362 *Ibid.*, p 417

CHAPTER XII

The Non-Canonical Śvetāmbara Literature

The earliest Śvetāmbara non-canonical literary text is the missing *Tarangavatī*, a Prakrit poem written by Pādaliptasūri, who according to the tradition was a contemporary of the Sātavāhana king Hāla Some details regarding this poet will be found in the *Prabhāvakacarita*[1] and *Prabandhakośa*[2] according to which he was a resident of Kosala and afterwards visited several places of India We are further told that he cured king Muruṇḍa of Pāṭaliputra of an incurable disease His work is referred to in the *Anuyogadvāra* (Sūtra No 130) and *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*[3] of Jinabhadra This shows that it was recognised as a well known literary text in the early centuries of the Christian era Later poets and writers like Jinadāsagaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, Udyotanasūri, Dhanapāla and others have mentioned Pādalipta with deference and affection

An abridged version of this work is the *Tarangalolā*[4] by Nemicandra written about 1000 years after the original It has altogether 1642 verses It appears from this abridged version that the original author was probably influenced by the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya as it refers to the story of Udayana of Kauśāmbī and his heroine Vāsavadattā

However the earliest extant non-canonical literary Śvetāmbara work appears to be the *Paumacariyam* of Vimala, the Jain *Rāmāyana*, written according to the testimony of the poet himself, 530 years after the emancipation (*siddhi*) of Lord Mahāvīra There is absolutely no reason why this date for the composition of this text should not be accepted as genuine[5] If this date is accepted, then we have to assign this work to the 1st century A.D, and there is nothing in the body of this text that goes against this date[6].

This celebrated poem of Vimala is also known as *Rāghava-caritam* From a few verses of the second chapter we can understand his attitude towards the Brāhmanical Rāma story (obviously that represented by Vālmīki) We are giving below a free translation of those lines—"When I consider the *Padmacarita*, I wonder how the petty and insignificant monkeys could kill the powerful and aristocratic Rākṣasas, who were versed in different sciences and *who had complete faith in the Jinas*[7] We are further told by the native chronicler (apparently Vālmīki) that all the Rākṣasas including Rāvana used to consume flesh, fat and blood We further learn that Rāvana's illustrious and valiant brother Kumbhakarna used to have an undisturbed sleep for six months Even if he where hit by big hills, he could not be awakened, he remained asleep even if his ears were filled with jars of oil Loud sounds of drum, which could even pierce thunder, had no effect on him And when he used to awake, he felt so hungry that he could serenely swallow elephants, buffaloes and anything that came in his way After consuming gods, men, elephants, he used to go to sleep once more for six months We have further heard that Rāvana, after vanquishing Indra in the battlefield brought him in chains to the city of Lankā But who can conquer the mighty Indra, who is capable of uprooting the whole of Jambudvīpa, who has Airāvata as his *vāhana*, and the terrible *vajra* as his weapon? By his very thought he (i e Indra) can reduce to ashes any god or man 'The dear killed the lion, and dog, the elephant' such contradictory sentences are found everywhere in the *Rāmāyana*'

We have deliberately reproduced this long passage in order to show the deep familiarity Vimala had with the original *Rāmāyana*, ascribed to Vālmīki Not only has he referred to the work of Vālmīki by name, but at the same time, he has mentioned events, described in the original version, using almost the same language What he has said about Kumbhakarna and his undisturbed sleep for six months, are actually found in the *Rāmāyana*, VI 60 27-63 and VI 61 28 There is absolutely no doubt that Vimala is indebted to the original *Rāmāyana* so

far as the above-mentioned passages of his work are concerned. As a devout Jain and a firm believer in the doctrine of Ahimsā, he is not prepared to believe that the Rākṣasas of Laṅkā used to consume animal flesh They are everywhere delineated in his work as Vidyādharas, although sometimes he forgetfully calls them also Rākṣasas (cf 2 105, 7 92 etc)

These so-called Vidyādharas, led by Rāvana, are everywhere portrayed as staunch Jains Although Vimala is committed to writing the story of Padma (i.e Rāma), his actual hero, at least in the first half af his work, is Rāvana, who like Naravāhanadatta, appears in this poem as perfect knight-errant. As a matter of fact, the ghost of Naravāhanadatta looms large in all the literary works beginning from Vimalasūri down to Hemacandra

We have already seen that Vimala had a thorough knowledge, not only of the events, narrated in the original *Rāmāyana*, but also with its language Although he contemptuously bestows on the earlier poets epithets like *kukavi*, *mūdhāh* etc, he actually follows the path trodden by them. Sometimes he does not hesitate to borrow words and phrases of the original *Rāmāyana* However, while telling the story of Rāma and Rāvana, he also tells something about different Jain Tīrthankaras and other interesting details are also found in his work for which he is indebted to none but his own imagination

The main details of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana* viz the birth of the four sons of Daśaratha, Rāma's marriage with Sītā, the daughter of Janaka, his deparature for the forest along with Lakṣmana and Sītā, Rāvana's kidnapping of Sītā, death of Jaṭāyu at Rāvana's hands, Rāma's meeting with Sugrīva, Hanumat's departure for Laṅkā, his meeting with Sītā the battle of Laṅkā, the rescue and ultimate banishment of Sītā are all described in Vimala's poem But mere similarity of broad facts do not concern us much here After a thorough examination of the entire Prakrit poem of Vimala[8] we have been able to find out a very good number of small yet important details which also occur in the original *Rāmāyana* We are giving below those details side by side from the two poems—

	Paumacariyaṁ		*Rāmāyana*
1	Description of Rājagṛha (2 8-14)	1	Description of Ayodhyā (I, ch 5)
2	Rāvaṇa's encounter with Bālin and lifting of Kailāsa (9 24 ff)	2	VII, ch 34, VII 16 25 ff
3	Description of the Narmadā (10 29 ff)	3	VII 31 15 ff
4	Sahasrakirana's play in the water of the Narmadā (10 33 ff)	4	VII 32 2 ff (in this epic he is called Arjuna of *sahasra* hands
5	Rāvana's worship of the Jina image near the bank of the Narmadā (10 45 ff)	5	VII 31 37 ff (he is shown as worshipping the Śiva-linga)
6	Nalakūbara-Uparambhā-Rāvaṇa affair (12 38 ff)	6	VII, ch. 26 (the heroine is here Rambhā)
7	Indra-Rāvana encounter (12 73 ff)	7	VII, ch 29
8	Añjanā-Pavanañjaya love affair and birth of Hanumat (chs 15-17)	8	VII, ch 35
9	Rāvana-Varuna encounter (ch 19)	9	VII, ch 23
10	Killing of Śambūka (43 48 ff)	10	VII, ch 76
11.	Khara-Dūṣaṇa and their 14,000 associates (43 17, 44 11)	11	III chs 19-20
12	Candranakhā's amorous advances (43 37 ff)	12	Śūrpanakhā affair (III, ch 17)
13	Rāma's lament (45.51 ff)	13	III, chs 62 f
14	Sugrīva severely rebuked by Lakṣmana (48 7 ff.)	14	IV, ch. 34
15	Dadhimukha affair (ch 49)	15	V, ch 62

	Paumacariyam		*Rāmāyaṇa*
16	Sītā gives Hanumat the *cūḍāmaṇi* (53 72 ff.)	16	V, chs 38 f
17.	Hanumat overpowered by Indrajit (53 118 f)	17	V, ch 48
18	Hanumat returns to Rāma the *cūḍāmaṇi* given by Sītā (54 3 ff)	18	V, ch. 65
19	Indrajit's quarrel with Vibhīṣaṇa [55 8 ff]	19	VI, ch 15
20	Rāvaṇa's quarrel with Vibhīṣaṇa [55 18 ff]	20	VI, ch 16
21	Doubts raised in Rāma's camp about Vibhīṣaṇa (55 29 ff)	21	VI, ch 17
22.	Rāma's lament (after Lakṣmaṇa was hit by Rāvaṇa's *śaktiśela* 62 4 ff).	22	VI, ch 101
23	Description of Mathurā (88 2 ff)	23	VII 70 9 ff
24	Rāma becomes a target of hostile criticism at Ayodhyā [93.22 ff]	24	VII 43 16 ff
25	Sītā's lament in the forest [94 87 ff]	25	VII 48 ff

The above table shows that Vimala has very faithfully followed in his Prakrit poem the original *Rāmāyana* including its First and Seventh Books, which are considered late additions to the original poem A very good number of incidents, narrated in the Uttarakāṇḍa, have been recorded by the author of the *Paumacariyam*. We have, for example, in this poem the story of Marutta's *yajña*, even the name Marutta's priest Samvarta is mentioned by Vimala (11.71) Vimala, to whom Rāvana is

a great Jain and Vidyādhara, has cleverly changed the passages of the Uttarakāṇḍa, which describe Rāvana's discomfiture As for example, in the Uttarakānda story Arjuna, king of Māhiṣmatī, is represented as having made Rāvana his prisoner, but the *PC* just gives the opposite version In another Uttarakānda story Rāvana is shown as having suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Vālin, but in the *PC* Vālin appears as a Jain ascetic and is further shown as having pressed the mount Kailāsa with the finger of his feet when Rāvana had lifted that mount And Dasamukha, in utter distress, cried out and earned the name of Rāvana It is not little amusing to see how the Jain poet has cleverly assigned to Vālin the role of Śiva of the Uttarakāṇḍa (16 25-38) Let no one suppose from this that Vimala has here followed a different tradition, and not that recorded by the author of the *Rāmāyana*

The above discussion abundantly proves that the Jain author, writing in the 1st century A D, has deliberately followed the original Rāma story, although here and there he has shown his Jain bias Characters like Daśaratha, Bharata, Kumbhakarna, Indrajit and others are represented as embracing the ascetic life of Jain Munis Rāvana's killer, however, is not Rāma in this poem, but Lakṣmana, who takes a more important part in the battle of Lankā than Rāma But Vimala has done a grave injustice to this great brother of Rāma by representing him as a love-sick, sentimental hero

Vimala according to his own testimony was a disciple of Vijaya and grand-disciple of Rāhu, who belonged to the Nāila or Nāgila *kula, which* according to the *Therāvalī*,[9] originated from the preceptor Ārya Vajrasena Nothing is known regarding the home of Vimala, but from the detailed and eulogistic description of Mathurā, it appears, that he was a monk of that city

The work of Vimala is the foundation on which later Jain writers built lofty edifices We have the *Padma Purāna* of Digambara Ravisena, which will be discussed in the next chapter A number of other writers including Svayambhū also wrote on the Rāma story and his work also will be noticed in the next chapter

We should now turn our attention to the *Vasudevahindī*[10]

written by Sanghadāsagaṇi Vācaka and Dharmasenagaṇi This work according to the eminent Prakrit scholar Alsdorf[11] was written in all probability in the Gupta period as its Prakrit shows quite a number archaic forms and for the students of the Prakrit language this work offers a fruitful field of study Only the first part of the work has so far been published and even that edition, according to Alsdorf,[12] is full of mistakes The original work extends to 100 Lambakas and the first part which extends to 29 Lambakas is a continuous prose work of 370 quarto pages Let us remember that this work was known to both Jinabhadagrani,[13] who flourished in the 6th century A.D, and Jinadāsagaṇi Ksamāsramana[14] There is therefore little doubt that this work was quite popular from the Gupta period

The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* is probably the earliest imitation of the famous *Bṛhatkathā* written in the Śātavāhana period by Gunādhya in the Paisāci language That work has not yet been discovered, but we have a number of Sanskrit versions Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa, who is the romantic hero of this novel, evidently reminds us of Naravānanadatta, the hero of Gunādhya Unlike the *Bṛhatkathā* it is written in the Mahārāstrī Prakrit, the language in which the well known *Angavijjā* has been written Besides the *Bṛhatkathā*, materials from the popular Vaiṣnava Purānas including the *Harivamsa* and *Viṣnu Purāna* have been incorporated The language is heavily influenced by the canonical language and sometimes we have the entire passages from the *Samavāyānga* and *Sthānānga* which prove that the author had little originality

After the Introduction we have the story of Dhammilla, the son of a merchant A number of his adventures have been recorded including his passion for prostitutes Vasantatilakā, the mistress of Dhammilla reminds us of Vasantasenā of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Sūdraka and *Cārudatta* of Bhāsa It is interesting to note that there is a direct reference to the *Bhagavadgītā* in this section of the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*[15] This, we believe, to be the earliest reference to that famous poem in a non-Brāhmaṇical text The author shows his intimate acquaintance with various places of Western India He refers to Kalyāṇa,[16] Bharukaccha,[17] Girinagara[18] and also Yavana-viṣaya[19] He further mentions the well-known temple of Vāsupūjya[20] of

Campā He quotes also a passage[21] from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and mentions a Nāga temple[22]

In the section entitled Piṭhikā[23] we have the story of the Vṛṣṇis of Dvārakā and here he has mainly followed the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas The highly poetical description of Kṛṣṇa[24] has a theistic ring The author has competently described the rivalry between Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā The story of Kṛṣṇa's elopement with Jāmbavatī and his son's love affair with Vaidarbhī are also given Sāmba also appears here as a romantic hero as in the Vaiṣṇava works

A number of sections or Lambakas of this work were evidently named in imitation of the *Bṛhatkathā* We have, for example, Gandharvadattā, Vegavatī and a few other Lambakas The text also refers to *dīnāra*[25] and *kārsāpana*[26] coins There was a brisk commercial intercourse with Cina, Suvarnabhūmi and Yavadvīpa[27] It also refers to the popular Indra festival[28] The picture of the society, painted in this text, is not different from what we get in Bhāsa and Śūdraka[29]

The story of Rāma, given in this text,[30] is almost entirely taken from the original *Rāmāyana,* although like the *PC* the killer of Rāvana here is Lakṣmaṇa[31] Some of the minor details of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana* are also to be found in this text. Even we have a reference to the *krodhāgāra*[32] of Kaikeyī Unlike Vimala, the author of this text has not changed the name of Śūrpanakhā The description of the rivalry between Vālin and Sugrīva[33] is evidently based on that of the Fourth Book of the *Rāmāyana*

In the present published edition of this text the Books 19-20 and a part of the Book 28 are missing The Book 28 entitled Devakī Lambaka closely follows the *Harivamśa* and later Jain writers including the author of the Jain *Harivamśa* have followed the version given in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* The text also contains lives of the Tīrthankaras like Kunthu and Arhanātha Ṛṣabha also gets a very special treatment[34]

The celebrated Haribhadra, who flourished in the middle of the 8th century, was not only a great philosopher, but also one of the finest literary figures of the early mediaeval period However, not much is known about his personal life We only

know that he was a native of Citrakūṭa (Chitor) and was a Brāhmaṇa by caste He informs us that he obeyed the command of Jinabhaṭa, a Śvetāmbara Ācārya, and was a pupil of Jinadatta, who belonged to the Vidyādhara *kula* We further learn from the colophons of his works that he was a spiritual son of the nun Yākinī Mahattarā From Udyotana's *Kuvalayamālā*,[35] which was written in Śaka 700 we learn that its author was taught the science of logic by Haribhadra, the author of several treatises And this Haribhadra is no other than our Haribhadra, who was also a great logician, as we will see in a later chapter Jacobi opines[36] that Haribhadra in later part of his life had migrated to Western Rajasthan and probably founded the clan of Porevals, who according to the *Neminīthacariya* originated at Śrimāla (Bhinmal) That scholar further believes that Haribhadra, as a *yati*, probably wandered in various parts of India including the eastern regions and learnt the logical system of the Buddhists in the Buddhist schools of these regions

According to the Jain tradition Haribhadra was the author of some 1440 works, which is clearly an absurd figure The earliest writer that refers to this figure is Abhayadeva who finished his *Ṭīkā* on Haribhadra's *Pañcāśaka* in 1068 A.D We have a list of 88 works of Haribhadra given by Muni Kalyānavijaya[37] A sketch of Haribhadra's life has been given in the *Prabhāvakacarita* which is however not much reliable[38] Rājaśekhara in his *Prabandhakośa*[39] also has given a sketch of his life

Haribhadra's fame as a creative literary writer rests chiefly on his Prakrit *Samarāiccakahā*[40], a work which the author himself describes as *dharmakathā* and which Winternitz[41] fittingly terms as a religious novel The fortune of the hero Samarāditya is traced through his nine births (*bhava*). Underlying all the narratives, there is the Jain doctrine of Karman For the study of the cultural religious and economic history of Northern India of the 8th century A D the work offers a unique scope. In the First Book there is a reference to the well known Madana-festival The second Book gives an interesting description of marriage of those days and mentions a Nāga temple It further refers to the cloth of Cīna and Ardha-Cīna. The Third Book refers to the philosophy of Cārvāka and in the 4th Book we have

not only a reference to Tâmraliptа port but also to Kaṭāhadvipa, which is also mentioned in the Cola inscriptions[42] and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[43] It appears from this Book of the *Samarāiccakahā* that there was a brisk commerce between eastern India and the islands of East Indies in those days. The 5th Book refers to Suvarnabhūmi and Mahākaṭāha. The 6th Book contains a wealth of information. Here we have the confirmation of the belief that the god Skanda was looked upon as the presiding god of thieves. We are told that Skanda-Rudra was the inventor of a thief's pill called Coragulivā which was used as *paradṛṣṭimohanī* (charmer of other's sight). There is also a detailed description of the temple of Kātyāyanī which had a four-armed icon of that goddess with the implements *kodaṇḍa*, *ghanṭā*, *khadga* and the tail of Mahiṣāsura. It further refers to the town of Devapura which was situated near China and also Suvarnadvīpa and Ratnadvīpa. We come accross an interesting character in the figure of Ṭoppa, a merchant of Devapura. The town of Tagara is also mentioned. There are a few interesting geographical names in other Books including Madanapura of Kāmarūpa mentioned in the 9th Book.

That Haribhadra was a successful storyteller is also proved by his well-known satire *Dhūrtākhyāna*[44] which is also written in Prakrit. That there was an earlier Jain text of this name is proved by the evidence of the *Niśīthaviśesacūrnī*.[45] The only purpose of Haribhadra was to ridicule the stories of the Hindu epics and Purānas and, in order to belittle them, he has told the tales of five rogues called Mūlaśrī, Kaṇḍarīka, Elāṣādha, Śasa and Khaṇḍapānā. Such a satire is expected from the pen of a writer, who was a renegade. However, it does not deserve the lavish praise bestowed on it by Upadhye[46] and the stories, told by the rogues, are only weak satires. It is a matter of regret the Jains, who have written so many works in imitation of the epics, should indulge in senseless condemnation of these two great poems. This once more proves our contention that the Jains like the Buddhists suffered from some sort of inferiority-complex from the very beginning of their career.

The next Śvetāmbara writer is Udyotanasūri, the author of the *Kuvalayamālā*, which was completed according to the colo-

phon of the work in the last month of the year Śaka 700, which is equivalent to 779 A D at Jāvālipura, modern Jalor (Rajasthan), when Vatsarāja was the reigning sovereign[47] The *Praśasti* given at the end of the work, as we have already pointed out has great historical value His immediate *guru* was Tattvācārya and he was taught Siddhānta by Vīrabhadra and logic by Haribhadra Vatsarāja, who is mentioned here, is the celebrated Pratīhāra king, a contemporary of Dharmapāla and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva The same Pratīhāra king is also mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena II as we will note in the next chapter

The *Kuvalayamālā* is probably the most interesting and complex Jain literary text of the 8th century A D The poet has shown his great power of observation and learning in this exceedingly readable work, written in the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit It has been argued that the author was influenced by Bāna and Haribhadra He has shown his thorough acquintance with the works of previous writers by referring to them, among whom a few were Brāhmanical writers and a few Digambara poets He has beautifully described the corrupt city life It further appears from his text that cities of India enjoyed rare prosperity in the 8th century and in this connexion he has referred to the affluence enjoyed by the inhabitants of Pratiṣṭhāna An interesting passage quoted by J C Jain in his work[48] throws a flood of light on the everyday religious life of those days This passage alludes to the popularity of the *Bhagavadgītā* among the Vaiṣnavas and also mentions the temples dedicated to Buddha, Jina, Śiva, Śakti (Koṭṭajjā) and Kārttikeya

The poet has very successfully painted romantic love scenes and it is quite sure that he had first-hand experience of love and romance In their descriptions of romantic episodes, the Jain writers could even put to shame the author of the *Śiśupālavadha* And in this respect, as we will see afterwards, the Digambaras did not lag much behind There is an interesting description of the life led by students in a large educational institution in which pupils from Lāṭa, Kannaḍa, Mālava, Kānyakubja, Golla, Marahaṭṭha, Ṭakka, Śrīkaṇṭha and Sindhudeśa pursued their study In this institution the students were given lessons by expert teachers on almost all sciences and philosophies[49] Not all the students

were equally serious and there is a humorous picture of college life, which was not probably much different from what we find in modern college and university hostels The poet has given us some idea regarding the characteristics of the peoples of different *janapadas* The inhabitants of Golla (country around Godāvarī) were black, rude, licentious and shameless, those of Magadha were ugly, careless and knew no sexual restraints. The people of Antarvedī (the land between the Gangā and Yamunā) were brown, having reddish-brown eyes and were fond of good food and table-talk The people of Kīra (Himalayan regions) were tall, fair, having flat nose and could carry big loads The inhabitants of Ṭakka (Punjab) were lacking in finer qualities and were close-fisted They could not appreciate knowledge and were also not chivalrous The Sindhu people were thoroughly well-bred and soft-spoken and at the same time had a passion for music They were proud of their own country The residents of the Maru country (Rajasthan) were crooked, foolish and were given to over-eating The people of Gurjara country were fond of butter and ghee and were religious in temperament, and at the same time, were fond of both peace and war The people of Lāṭa were fond of perfumes and were conscious about their dress The Mālavas were of short stature and dark complexion They were both conceited and wrathful The Karṇāṭaka people were exceedingly proud, and at the same time, addicted to women They too, were of violent temperament The Tājikas (Muslims) were mainly non-vegetarians and knew only wine and women The Kosalans possessed all the finer qualities of character and were easily excitable and proud. They were generally strongly built The people of Mahārāṣṭra were tolerant and physically quite fit However they were somewhat conceited and quarrelsome The Āndhras were good fighters and were handsome, but they were fond of women and known for their extravagant food habits Elsewhere the poet has praised the people of the Lāṭa country We must remember that the original home of Udyotanasūri was situated not far from Lāṭadeśa and that explains why he had soft corner for that country.

Śīlāṅka's *Caupannmahāpurisacariyam*[50] is the earliest Svetām-

bara work on the lives of 54 great men This work is written in Prakrit and according to the *Bṛhaṭṭippanikā* the work was completed in the Vikrama Samvat 925 corresponding to 867 A.D In his *Ācārāngaṭīkā* we have three dates for Śīlāṅka viz Śaka 772, 784 and 798 The earliest date for this writer is therefore 840 A D[51] and the latest 876 A D A few scholars[52] think that Śīlāṅka, the commentator of the *Ācārānga* and *Sūtrakṛtānga* should be distinguished from Śīlāṅka, the author of the *Caupannamahāpurisacariyam* But we should remember that both these Śīlāṅkas belonged to the Nivṛti *kula*[53] and lived in the middle of the 9th century A D Therefore there is no valid reason why these two Śīlāṅkas should not be regarded as identical The *Ācārāngaṭīkā* has an additional name for Śīlāṅka viz. Tattvāditya and the *Caupannamahāpurisacariyam* gives another name viz. Vimalamati It appears that Vimalamati was his original name and Śīlāṅka or Śīlācārya the name given to him after he became a Jain *Sādhu* The name Tattvāditya appears to be a title conferred upon him for his vast learning His *guru* according to the *praśasti* of the *Caupannamahāpurisacariyam* was Mānadeva.

The work runs to 10,800 *ślokas* and he has very skilfully utilised the earlier sources including the Āgamas and the available Śvetāmbara commentaries and other non-canonical texts including Vimala's *Paumacariyam* Among 54 characters only 19 have received extensive treatment About 21 characters have been dismissed only in a few pages Characters like Ṛṣabha, Bharata, Śānti, Sumati, Mallī, Sagara, Neminātha, Pārśva, Baladeva and Vardhamāna have naturally been allotted much greater space One interesting feature of the work is the drama *Vibudhānanda*[54] which has been inserted in the story of one of the former births of Ṛṣabha We are told that king Mahābala (4th *bhava* of Ṛṣabha) was led to *vairāgya* after this dramatic performance It appaers that Śīlāṅka got the idea of writing this play from a statement of Jinadāsa Mahattara.[55] The play is constructed in every respect upon the model of the Classical drama However, the tragic end (viz the death of the hero) violates the rule of the Sanskrit drama

There are quite a few valuable cultural materials scattered in this vast work The writer refers to an old Jain shrine at

Ānandapura (Vadnagar) of Gujarat[56] He further informs us elsewhere that the court of Śālavāhana was graced by more than one hundred poets[57] That the official religion of Ceylon was Buddhism was known to Śīlānka[58] He refers to the great prosperity of the Kāśī kingdom[59] In p 38 he refers to the following texts—Pādalipta's *Tarangavatī*, Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Samudra's *Puruṣalakṣanaśāstra*, Citraratha's *Sangītaśāstra*, Naggai's *Citrakalāśāstra*, Dhanvantari's *Āyurvedaśāstra*, Śālibhadra's *Asvaśāstra*, Vihāna's *Dyūtaśāstra*, Bubbuha's *Hastiśāstra*, Angirasa's *Yuddhaśāstra*, Śabara's *Indrajālaśāstra*, Kātyāyana's *Strīlaksanaśāstra*, Senāpati's *Śakunaśāstra*, Gajendra's *Svapnalakṣanaśāstra*, Nala's *Pākaśāstra* and Vidyādhara's *Patrachedyaśāstra* Śīlānka further refers to the worship of Kāmadeva[60] who was propitiated by women desirous of good husband The Yakṣa-worship was also popular[61] and there is a vivid description of a Kāpālika[62] It has been argued[63] that even Hemacandra was inspired by Śīlānka's work when he wrote his famous *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*.

Another well-known Śvetāmbara work of the 9th century is Jayasimha's *Dharmopadeśamālā*[64] written according to the testimony of the poet himself in the Vikrama Samvat 915, and he gives the vital information that at this time king Bhoja was ruling the earth There is absolutely no doubt that the poet has referred to the Pratīhāra king Bhoja for whom we have dates ranging from V S 893 to 936[65] Vikrama Samvat 915 corresponds to 867 A D The work was composed in the Jain shrine of Nāgapura (i e Nagaur) which is in Rajasthan He also gives some information regarding the activities of his spiritual predecessors.

The work has a number of *gāthās* written by Jayasimha and to illustrate the *gāthās* he has himself composed 156 stories, most of which are based on the earlier Jain literature The style of Jayasimha is superior to most other Jain writers It appears that the original home of this writer was at Vasantapura, which is mentioned more than 25 times in this work and which has yielded, as we have already seen, a 7th century Jain inscription and which is identified with the present Vasantagadh in Sirohi district of Rajasthan Jayasimha, it is interesting to note, describes Mathurā as adorned with Jain temples[66] He

further refers to the town of Acalapura and its king Ankeśarī,[67] who is described as a devotee of the Digambaras. It further appears from this work[68] of Jayasimha that there was intense rivalry between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras in the 9th century and this is also confirmed by the statements of the contemporary Digambara writers Probably the earliest reference to the famous Śakunikāvihāra of Bhṛgukaccha, which was dedicated to Muni Suvrata, is to be found in this work[69] It is apparent from this, that this famous temple of Suvrata at this well-known port was built much earlier The author describes the popularity of the Jain religion at Ujjayinī[70] The holy hill of Śatruñjaya has also been mentioned[71] He also shows his acquaintance with the philosophy of Siddhasena Divākara[72] There are also interesting stories about Subandhu, Cānakya, Śālibhadra, Mūladeva, Āryarakṣita and others Some of these stories are also told in contemporary Digambara works

Let us now turn our attention to one of the most interesting texts written in the beginning of the 10th century A D viz the *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā*[73] This work was composed by Siddharṣi in the Vikrama Samvat 962 corresponding to 906 A D The *praśasti* of this work gives some valuable information about the spiritual predecessors of this writer He at first mentions Sūryācārya of Nivṛtikula, who flourished in Lāṭadesa His disciple was Dellamahattara, who was an expert in astronomy and prognostics His disciple was Durgasvāmin, a rich Brāhmaṇa, who had become a Jain monk and died, it is interesing to note, at Bhillamāla (Bhinmal) Durgasvāmin was the teacher of Siddharṣi and is praised by him chiefly on account of his exemplary piety. Both teacher and pupil had been ordained by Gargasvāmin, about whom we are not told anything more But the highest praise is reserved for Haribhadra, who as we learn from the *praśasti* was the source of his inspiration. It must, however, not be supposed that Haribhadra was a contemporary of Siddharṣi The former lived some two centuries earlier, as is indicated in the *Kuvalayamālā* written in the Śaka year 700

In the *Prabhāvakacarita*[74] we have a romantic account of Siddharṣi's conversion from Buddhism which has, however, been

rightly rejected by Jacobi.[75] That work further represents Siddharṣi as a cousin of Māgha, the author of the *Śiśupālavadha*, which is surely impossible, as Māgha lived in the middle of the 7th century A.D., since his grandfather served under king Varmalāta, who is definitely known from an inscription[76] to have flourished in 625 A.D.

The work of Siddharṣi is an elaborate and extensive allegory. Probably the earliest specimen of such an allegory is the unnamed play of Aśvaghoṣa, discovered from Central Asia.[77] However this work of Siddharṣi is the first extensive allegory in the Indian literature and it was followed two centuries later by Kṛṣṇa Miśra's great allegory *Prabodhacandrodaya*. Siddharṣi's work is a narrative consisting of series of birth stories i.e. the hero of all stories is the some person in different births. This is an ancient device known to the earlier Buddhist and Jain writers including Haribhadra whose *Samarāiccakahā* is openly acknowledged by Siddharṣi[78] as his model.

Siddharṣi proposes to explain the mundane career of the Soul (*Jīva*) under the name of Samsārijīva from the lowest stage of existence to the final liberation. However, only six births are narrated, a few more are sketched, and the rest is only summarily noticed. In the lives fully narrated, Samsārijīva is described as being under the influence of four cardinal passions (*krodha* in the 3rd Prastāva, *māna* in the 4th, *māyā* in the 5th and *lobha* in the 6th), and similarly he is governed by the five cardinal vices (*himsā* in the 3rd, *anṛta* in the 4th, *steya* in the 5th, *abrahma* in the 6th, *parigraha* in the 7th). And in the Prastāvas are inserted allegorical stories which illustrate the baleful influence of the five senses viz. *sparśana, rasana, ghrāna, dṛṣṭi* and *śruti*. The chief intention of the author was to illustrate the Jain religion, not as dogmatist, but as a moralist. The order followed by Siddharṣi is to be found also in the *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra*.[79] The work has been compared with the *Pilgrim's Progress*.[80] The author deliberately uses Sanskrit and not Prakrit, because Sanskrit was the language of the educated people. However, his language is very easy to understand, and he does not care, like Dhanapāla or Somadeva, to imitate the style of Subandhu or Bāna.

Dhanapāla,[81] who flourished in the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. is the author of the *Tilakamañjarī*,[82] which was probably composed in the very beginning of the reign of Paramāra Bhoja. This author had written his Prakrit *Pāiyalacchī*[83] in the Vikrama year 1029 corresponding to 972 A.D., when Mānyakheṭa was sacked by the Mālava army. In the *Tilakamañjarī*[84] some extremely valuable information regarding the early kings of the Paramāra dynasty has been given. The author is a conscious imitator of Bāṇa, but he is only a very inferior imitator. The hero Harivāhana reminds us of Candrāpīḍa of the *Kādambarī* and his friend Samaraketu is modelled on Vaiśampāyana of Bāṇa's work. The heroine Tilakamañjarī instinctively reminds us of Kādambarī and Malayavatī is in every respect like Mahāśvetā, the immortal creation of Bāṇa. In Bāṇa's work the childless king Tārāpīḍa worships Śiva in the Mahākāla temple and here in the *Tilakamañjarī* Meghavāhana worships Jina in the temple of Śakrāvatāra Siddhāyatana of Ayodhyā for a son. It appears from Dhanapāla's work that this temple of Jina at Ayodhyā was established long before its composition. It is extremely interesting to note that this Jain shrine of Ayodhyā is mentioned in Jinaprabha's *Vividhatīrthakalpa*[85]. We should remember that the grandfather of the poet was originally a resident of Sānkāśya[86] and Dhanapāla himself probably had personally visited this shrine of Ayodhyā.

Dhanapāla, as we learn from later works like the *Prabhāvakacarita*[87] and *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*[88], received favours from both Muñja and Bhoja. This is also confirmed by his own work. A summary of this work entitled *Tilakamañjarīkathāsāra*[89] was written by another poet of the same name at Patan in V.S. 1261.

Dhanapāla's another work is the *Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā*[90] which is a poem of 50 stanzas. This is written in Prakrit and the first twenty verses contain allusions to the events of the life of the first Tīrthankara; the remaining thirty stanzas are devoted exclusively to the praise of Ṛṣabha. This poem contains probably the earliest reference to chess-board[91].

Quite a few other works by Śvetāmbara writers were written before 1000 A.D. We should mention here the *Ajitaśāntistava*[92] (*Ajiyasantithava*) by Nandiṣeṇa who lived before the 9th century

This poem written in rare but artificial metres in Prakrit, glorifies Ajita, the second and Śāntinātha, the 16th Tīrthankara It is also probable that the original *Śatruñjayamāhātmya*[98] was written, as claimed by the poet, during the reign of one of the Śīlādityas of Valabhī and afterwards in the later period interpolations were made in the body of this Jain *Māhātmya* If this is accepted, then we have to assign the original work before the last quarter of the 8th century, which is the date for the last king of Valabhī, bearing that name

NOTES

1 P 29 (SGJM Vol XII, Calcutta, 1940)

2 Pp 11 ff

3 Verse No 1508

4 Edited in Nemivijñānagranthamālā Vikrama Samvat 2000 It was translated in German by Leumann as *Die Nonne* in 1921 in *ZB*, Vol III, 193 ff and 272 ff A separate offprint was also published. A Gujarati translation was published from Ahmedabad in 1924

5 See our paper in *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition*, pp 177 f

6 *Loc cit*

7 Italics ours

8 Ed Jacobi, 1914 (Bhavnagar), recently Prakrit Text Society Varanasi has published the work in two parts

9 *S B E*, Vol XXII p 293

10 Edited in Ātmānanda Jain Granthamālā, 1930-31 (Bhavnagar) A Gujarati translation of this text was made by Prof Sandeswara in V S 2003

11 See his paper in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (London), Vol VIII (1935-37), pp 319-333

12 *Ibid*, p 320 fn 1

13 See Jain, *Prakrit Sāhitya ka ithāsa* p 381 The *Viseṣanavati* has been published by Ṛsabhadeva Kesarīmala Saṁsthā, Ratlam, 1927

14 See *Nis Cū*, Vol IV, p 26, see also Āva Cū Vol I, pp 164, 460 and Vol II, p 324

15 P 50 see also Gujarati translation, p 60

16 P 66

17 P 74

18 P 50

19 Pp 38, 62.

20 P 155

21 P. 38

22 P 65

23 Translation (Gujarati), pp 92-130

24 *Ibid* pp 92-93

25 *Ibid*, p 378

26 *Ibid*, p 350

27 *Ibid*, p 189

28 *Ibid*, p 287

29 See also *Introd*, Gujarati translation, pp 33 ff

30 Trans, pp 313 ff

31 *Ibid* p 319

32 *Ibid*, p 314

33 *Ibid* p 317

34 *Ibid*, pp 202 ff

35 Ed A N Upadhye, p 282

36 See his Introd *Samaraiccakahā*, Vol I. p VI

37 See his Sanskrit Introduction entitled *Granthakāraparicaya* in his edition of Haribhadra's *Dharmasangrahini* Bombay, 1918

38 IX, 48-206

39 Pp 24 ff

40 Ed by Jacobi 1926 (Calcutta, Asiatic Society), afterwards it was edited in two parts by Bhagwandas with Sanskrit *chāyā* and published from Ahmedabad (1938, 1942) There is an abstract of this text which was compiled by Pradyumna in 1214 A D and edited by Jacobi, Ahmedabad, 1905

41 *Hist of Indian Lit*, Vol II, p 523

42 See Sastri, The *Colas* p 217

43 Ed Durgaprasad and Parab, XIII 74, for some useful information on Katāha, see *The Ocean of Story* (Tawney and Penzer), Vol I p 155 fn 1 In this work Kaṭāha has been mentioned several times

44 Ed A N Upadhye, Bombay 1944

45 See Pīṭhikā, p 105

46 See pp 20 ff of his 'Critical Study' of the *Dhūrtākhyāna* given in his edition of that text

47 Edited in two Parts by A N Upadhye in Singhi Jain Granthamālā, Bombay, 1959 and 1970 There is a valuable introduction in the second part by the same scholar

48 Jain, *op cit*, p 420

49 *Ibid*, p 423

50 Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi, 1961

51 The date 772 is actually given in some manuscripts in the Gupta Saṁvat, which according to Fleet is a mistake for the Śaka year, see *A Hist of the Canonical Lit of the Jainas* by Kapadia, p. 197

52 See *Prastāvanā* in Hindi by A M Bhojak in the P T S edition, pp 54 ff, see also *Jaina Sāhitya kā Brhad itihāsa*, Vol. VI, p 70

53 In the concluding line of his *Ṭīkā* on the 1st Śrutaskandha of the *Ācārāṅga* we have the information that Śīlācārya belonged to the Nivṛti *kula*, see *Jaina Sāhitya kā brhad itihāsa,* Vol III, p 382 fn 1

54 Pp 17-27

55 See Introd by Klaus Bruhn p 29

56 P 189

57 P 138

58 P 154

59 P 86

60 P 110

61 P 232

62 P 228

63 Cf Alsdorf's view quoted in Klaus Bruhn's Introduction, p 9

64 Singhi Jaina Granthamālā, Bombay, 1949 (ed by L B Gandhi)

65 See D R Bhandarkar, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos 25, 28, 33 and 36

66 P 32

67 P 177

68 Pp 177-179

69 P 160

70 P 148

71 P 220

72 P 37

73 Edited in Bibliotheca Indica, 1914 by P Peterson and Jacobi (Calcutta, Asiatic Society) For another edition see D L P No 46

74 V 22 ff

75 See Preface, pp XIII ff

76 D R Bhandarkar, *List*, No 11

77 See Winternitz *H I L* (Reprint), Vol III, Part I, pp 222 f

78 See p 147

79 VIII, 10, VII, 1, II 20

80 Jacobi, *op cit*, p XVIII

81 See the paper entitled 'Mahākavi Dhanapāla aur unkī Tilaka-mañjari' in Guru Gopaladas Baraiya Smṛtigrantha, pp 484-91 See Merutuṅga, *Prabandhacintāmani*, pp 36 ff.

82 Ed. Kāvyamālā Series, Bombay, 1938

83 See Chowdhary, G C, *P H.N I* etc, p 85

84 *Ibid*., pp 85 ff

85 Edited Jinavijaya, Santiniketan, 1934, p 73

86 See *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (ed Jinavijaya) p 36

87 See the Prabandha entitled 'Mahendrasūriprabandha'

88 Pp 36 ff

89 Edited Ahmedabad, 1970

90 Edited in Kāvyamālā Series Pt VII, see also *Jinaratnakośa*, p 3 A German translation along with the original text edited by Klatt was published in *Z D M G*, Vol 33, pp 445 ff

91 See Klatt, *op cit*, pp 465 f

92 Ed Viravijaya, Ahmedabad, V S 1992.

93 See *I A*, Vol. 30, pp 239 ff, 288 ff

CHAPTER XIII

The Literature of the Digambaras

The Digambaras, who formally separated themselves from the original Sangha in the early years of the 2nd century A.D., can rightly boast of an exceedingly rich literature. However, the so-called canonical texts of this sect, unlike the Śvetāmbara canon, is devoid of any interest for the students of history. The subject treated in these canonical works are technical in nature and will be liked only by the students of metaphysics. The canonical texts of the Digambaras were discovered from Mudbidri in South Kanara district of Karnatak some fifty years back. The first part of the canon is known as the *Karmaprābhṛta* and also as the *Saṭkhaṇḍāgama*. The earliest available commentary on it is the *Dhavalā* written by Vīrasena, who describes himself as a disciple of Āryanandin and a grand-disciple of Candrasena of the Pañcastūpānvaya and who had studied the Siddhānta under Elācārya. The commentary was completed in the Śaka year 738 corresponding 816 A.D., when Amoghavarṣa I was the reigning king[1]. That commentator gives us some information regarding the original authors of the *Karmaprābhṛta*.

According to Vīrasena,[2] after the death of Lohācārya, the 28th *guru* in succession of Mahāvīra, the knowledge of ancient scriptures became practically extinct. There was only one saint viz Dharasena who had some knowledge regarding those ancient texts. This saint was originally a resident of Girinagara (Girnar). While he was engaged in penances in the Candragumphā Cave of Girnar hill, he decided to send a letter to the monks of Dakṣiṇāpatha warning them against the danger of complete extinction of the knowledge of early scriptures. The monks, on receipt of that letter sent two intelligent monks called Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali to Dharasena who taught them

ancient scriptures These two monks afterwards composed the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and according to Vīrasena, that work was completed 683 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra We further learn that Puṣpadanta composed the first 20 cardinal Sūtras and the rest of the work running to 6000 Sūtras was completed by Bhūtabali

The above discussion shows that the earliest Digambara canon, according to their own testimony, is not earlier than the 2nd century A D This indirectly supports the Śvetāmbara tradition regarding the date of the formal separation of the Digambaras from the original Sangha We have already seen, that according to the Śvetāmbaras, the Digambaras separated 609 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra It is natural that after their separation they should be in search of a separate canon for themselves The testimony of Vīrasena proves that the Digambara canon was originally compiled in Western India in which the monks of the South also took part Although the Digambaras reject the authenticity of the Śvetāmbara sacred texts, their early writers do not hesitate to quote from the Svetāmbara canon Even Vīrasena has shown complete acquaintance with a number of Śvetāmbara sacred texts[3]

Vīrasena further informs us that at the time of the compilation of the sacred texts, the Digambara monks of the South were assembled at the town of Mahimā which was situated on the bank of the river Venyā (modern Bena) in the Andhra country and which is identified with Mahimānagar in the district of Satara in present Maharashtra The commentary written by Vīrasena runs to 72,000 *slokas* and it was based, according to his own statement, on the earlier commentaries including that written by the celebrated Kundakunda A number of earlier commentaries are also mentioned in Indranandi's *Śrutāvatāra*[4] But none of these commentaries has survived The *Dhavalā* commentary was written at Vāṭagrāmapura, which has not yet been properly identified[5]

The second part of the Digambara canon is known as the *Kaṣāyaprābhṛta*[6] which was written by one Gunadhara Ācārya, who probably was a contemporary of Bhūtabali and Puṣpadanta[7] The work runs into 233 verses of which probably the first 180

were written by Gunadhara[8] The earliest commentary on it is the *Cūrṇisūtra* of Yativṛṣabha, who as we will see afterwards, probably flourished in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D Yativṛṣabha, we are told, followed the commentary of Ārya Mankhu and Nāgahastin[9] Afterwards according to Indranandi two other commentators wrote their learned treatises on this work and finally Vīrasena composed the first 20,000 *ślokas* of his *Jayadhavalā*, which was afterwards completed in 60,000 *ślokas* by his disciple Jinasena. This great commentary[10] was completed in Śaka 759, when Amoghavarṣa I was the reigning king[11] We should also refer to the last part of *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* called *Mahābandha* written by Bhūtabali[12] which runs to 40,000 *ślokas* and on which Vīrasena has not written any commentary

We have already said that the Digambara Āgamic texts are devoid of any interest, at least for the historian However students of Jain philosophy and metaphysics treat them as source-books Later Jain philosophers have freely borrowed from these texts Let us then turn our attention to a few other Digambara Jain texts, which also deal with abstruse points of Digambara philosophy We will not discuss here the works of the celebrated Digambara philosophers, which we propose to do in the next chapter, but only refer to a few classics which deal with doctrinal matters.

The *Mūlācāra*[13] of Vaṭṭakera which runs to 1252 verses is one of the earliest non-canonical Digambara works dealing with various practices of Jain ascetics The work is divided into 12 parts (*Adhikāra*) There are a few interesting stories for which the author is indebted to the earlier Śvetāmbara canon Like the *Nandīsūtra* and *Anuyogadvāra* it condemns works like the *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata*, *Arthaśāstra* etc Some of the rules for the Jain monks are directly taken from the Śvetāmbara canonical texts including the *Bṛhatkalpa* and a few of the verses remind us of the *Daśavaikālika*[14] It has been claimed[15] that the author Vaṭṭakera should be identified with Kundakunda, but there is no genuine basis for such a suggestion From the linguistic point of view the work should be assigned to the 5th century A D

The *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*[16] appears to be a work of the

same period It has little over 2,100 verses and its Prakrit bears close similarity with the Prakrit of the *Mūlācāra*[17]. It was composed, according to the colophon of the work, by Pāṇitalabhojī Śivārya, who studied the Mūla Sūtras under the feet of Ārya Jinanandi Gaṇī, Ārya Sarvagupta Gaṇī and Ārya Mitranandi Gaṇī We have already seen in a previous chapter[18] that there was a Pāṇitalabhojī Digambara ascetic during the reign of Rāmagupta, who flourished in the 2nd half of the 4th century A.D Prabhācandra, who wrote his *Kathākośa* during the reign of Jayasimha of Dhārā (middle of the 11th century A D) claims that this Śivārya (also called Śivakoṭi) was previously a king and later converted by the celebrated Samantabhadra[19] We are further told by him that his work was based on the *Ārādhanā* of Lohācārya which ran to 84,000 verses We must however note that Hariṣeṇa who wrote his *Kathākośa* much earlier, does not represent Śivārya as a disciple of the great Samantabhadra, although his work too, like that of Prabhācandra, is based on the work written by Śivārya

Śivārya refers to a number of Śvetāmbara texts including *Kalpa, Vyavahāra, Ācārānga* and *Jītakalpa* This work, which deals with the conduct of Jain ascetics, has verses common with the *Mūlācāra* and a few Śvetāmbara canonical texts A few scholars identify its author Śivārya with Śivabhūtī which can be rejected outright[20] The probable date of Śivabhūti is 2nd century A D, while Śivārya flourished in the Gupta period There is a Sanskrit commentary on the *Ārādhanā* written by Aparājita called *Śrīvijayodayā* This gentleman was a disciple of one Baladevasūrī and grand-disciple of Candranandi He further tells us that he was inspired by Nāganandi He also wrote, it is interesting to note, a commentary on the celebrated Śvetāmbara Āgamic poem *Daśavaikālika*. He shows his acquaintance with the philosophy of Pūjyapāda and the *Varāngacarita* of Jaṭā Simhanandin In all probability, Aparājita flourished in the 8th century A D A number of later commentaries are also known[21], which shows that *Ārādhanā* was looked upon as an extremely valuable work by the Digambara monks of later times. In the early 10th century Hariṣeṇa composed his *Bṛhatkathākośa*, which according to his own testimony was based on the original

Ārādhanā. This work will be discussed later in the present chapter

The original *Lokavibhāga*[22], which is now lost, was written according to its translator Simhasūri in the Śaka year 380 corresponding to the 22nd year of king Simhavarman of Kāñcī We are further told that its author was Sarvanandi, who was a resident of the village of Pāṭalika, which was situated in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This shows that there existed a Digambara work on cosmography as early as the 5th century A D Yativṛṣabha in his *Tiloyapannatī* has repeatedly referred to this work

We have already mentioned the fact that Yativṛṣabha had written a commentary (*Cūrnī*) on the *Kāsāyaprābhṛta* The same saint is the author of the famous work on Jain cosmography called *Tilovapannatī*[23] Vīrasena in his *Dhavalā* frequently invokes him and quotes *gāthās* which are found with minor variations in the present edition of the work[24] That the author flourished after 5th century A D, is also proved by the fact that he mentions the *Lokavibhāga* several times He also shows acquaintance with the *Mūlācāra* It has been argued[25] that the *Lokavibhāga* was known to Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa, for whom we have a date Śaka 531 corresponding to 609 A D But he could not have flourished much earlier, since he refers to the duration of the Gupta rule as either 221[26] or 255[27] It appears that the poet probably flourished in the last quarter of the 6th century A D He is the first writer to refer to the duration of the rule of the Imperial Guptas, and his testimony is strikingly confirmed by the evidence of Gupta inscriptions It further appears that the earlier figure of 221 for the duration of the Gupta rule is more reasonable than the latter figure of 255[28] We are also grateful to Yativṛṣabha for giving us an idea about post-Candragupta chronology Incidentally he is the earliest author to mention that Chandragupta Maurya was a Jain[29] Later writers including the author of the Jain *Harivaṁśa* were influenced by Yativṛṣabha The *Tiloyapannatī* is divided into nine sections and runs to 8,000 verses It gives a great deal of information on Jain doctrine and Purāṇic tradition about Tīrthankaras. It has also been claimed that Yativṛṣabha was at home with the

science of mathematics[30] He also describes the five hills of Rājagṛha which is called by the name Pamcaselaṇayaṇa i.e. Pañcaśailanagara[31] He further mentions a number of places which were regarded as sacred to the Jains Yativṛṣabha is mentioned as an enemy of the Buddhists in the *Bṛhatkathākośa*[32] of Hariṣeṇa, which was written in 931 A D

The well known *Svāmikārttikeyānuprekṣā*[33] is a very important and popular work among the Digambara Jains It explains the 12 Anuprekṣās or Meditations and has therefore altogether 12 chapters These Anuprekṣās are recommended both for the monks and laymen According to J P Jain this work was written in the early centuries of the Christian era[34], and he further suggests that the author Svāmi Kumāra should be identified with Kumāranandin of a Mathurā inscription[35], dated Śaka 87 But there is little doubt that Kumāranandin of that inscription was a Śvetāmbara saint and this work is a typical Digambara product Prof A. N Upadhye has shown that in no work before 13th century A D, this text has been referred to[36] He further argues that the author was acquainted with the *Gommaṭasāra* of Nemicandra, written in the 10th century A.D Even if we reject this argument of Upadhye, we cannot suggest a much earlier date for this work This author was clearly influenced by the views of Kundakunda and Śivārya Among other important didactic Digambara works of the 10th century we must mention the *Gommaṭasāra* and the works of Devasena The Prakrit *Gommaṭasāra*[37] was written by Nemicandra, a close friend of the well-known Cāmuṇḍarāya, who flourished in the last quarter of the 10th century A D This work was also named after that great minister, whose original name was 'Gommaṭa' Nemicandra is heavily indebted to earlier writers like Yativṛṣabha and Vīrasena His work consists of two parts viz Jīvakāṇḍa and Karmakāṇḍa "It is a kind of natural history of the living beings" and needless to say, this work is frankly unreadable Devasena, was the author of the works *Ārādhanāsāra*[38] and *Darśanasāra*[39] Luckily for us, in his *Darśanasāra* he has informed us that he was a resident of Dhārā and lived around 933 A.D We are further told that this work was composed in the temple of Pārśvanātha which was

situated at that town[40]. Devasena has given us some vital information regarding the origin of sects like Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha, Māthurasaṅgha, Drāviḍasaṅgha, and Yāpanīyasaṅgha

Let us now turn our attention to the creative works of literature written by Digambara poets and writers But before we do that, we have to refer to the Jainendra grammar This work[41], which is ascribed to Devanandi Pūjyapāda has altogether five chapters and this is the reason why it is also known as the *Pañcādhyāyī* Pūjyapāda refers to earlier Jain savents like Śrīdatta (1 4 34), Yasobhadra (2 1 99), Bhūtabali (3 4 83), Prabhācandra (4 3 180), Siddhasena (5 1 7) and lastly Samantabhadra (5 4 140) Now, regarding the time of Pūjyapāda there is now no confusion Devasena in his *Darśanasāra*[42] has clearly stated that Vajranandin, the disciple of Pūjyapāda founded the Drāviḍasangha at Southern Mathurā (i e Madura) in Vikrama Samvat 526 which corresponds to 468 A.D Therefore the preceptor of Vajranandin, viz Pūjyapada should be assigned to the first half of the 5th century A.D It is interesting to note, and as pointed out by Premi[43], that Samantabhadra was a contemporary of Pūjyapāda, as he also was acquainted with Pūjyapāda's works There are a number of early commentaries on Pūjyapāda's Grammar including one by Abhayanandi, and another by Prabhācandra The latter was a contemporary of Paramāra Bhoja[44]

No Digambara literary work, written before the 7th century, is now available The earliest datable work is the *Padma Purāṇa*[45] of Ācārya Raviṣeṇa which was written, according to the testimony of the poet himself, 1203½ years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa This suggests a date around 678 A D That poet further informs us that he was a disciple of Lakṣmaṇasena and granddisciple of Arhatmuni[46] The latter, in turn, was a disciple of Divākara, Divākara's preceptor was Indra We can, therefore assign the earliest *guru* Indra to the last quarter of the 6th century A D

The *Padma Purāṇa* or *Padmacarita* as we have already pointed out, is a free and direct Sanskrit translation of the Prakrit text of Vimala. However, nowhere in the text Raviṣeṇa cares to acknowledge his debt to the earlier and original poet.

He simply states[47] that he followed the work of Anuttaravāgmin who according to Svayambhū was identical with Kīrtidhara. But no work of Kīrtidhara is known We can understand the reason why Raviṣeṇa has not mentioned Vimala in his work, the former was a diehard Digambara and the latter was a Śvetāmbara poet It appears that before Raviṣeṇa, one Kīrtidhara made an attempt to translate in Sanskrit the Prakrit *kāvya* of Vimala. However, the popularity of Raviṣeṇa's work forced the poem of Kīrtidhara to disappear from the literary scene Although Raviṣeṇa is a mere translator, we have to concede, that he was endowed with a genuine poetical fervour. The *Padma Purāna* is an exceedingly popular work among the Digambara Jains. That Raviṣena was a learned poet is also evident from various chapters of his work In chapter 24, in connexion with enumeration of Kaikeyī's skill, Raviṣena has displayed his deep knowledge of various branches of learning Like Vimala, he too, is thoroughly anti-Brāhmanical Probably he was inspired by the style of Bāna His descriptions of war-preparation (12 181 ff) and love-scene (16 192 ff) remind us of Bāṇa's style As Bāṇa flourished between 560-620 A D, and Raviṣena in the last quarter of the 7th century, there is nothing inherently improbable in Ravisena following the former The easy, graceful style of Raviṣena is also responsible for his extreme popularity Later poets like Udyotanasūri, the author of the *Kuvalyamālā* (Śaka 700) and Jinasena, the author of the *Harivamśapurāna* (Śaka 705) refer to Raviṣena with deference[48] Since *Padma Purāṇa* is a mere translation of the *Paumacariyam*, it is useless to discuss the contents of the poem. The present writer has elsewhere[49] tried to show that Raviṣena had heard about the Muslims

To the 7th century we can assign another poem written by a Digambara poet viz. the *Varāngacarita*[50] of Jaṭāsimhanandi As late as 1933, it was believed that this work was composed by Raviṣena. The two crucial verses referring to this work in the *Kuvalayamālā* and *Harivamśapurāṇa* were misunderstood by scholars[51] But after the discovery of a number of manuscripts of this poem and the references to its author in various later works, all doubts disappeared regarding its actual authorship. As

we have just now indicated, the earliest reference to the *Varāṅga-carita* is to be found in the work of Śvetāmbara Udyotanasūri, who wrote in Śaka 700 Five years later, Jinasena, in his *Harivaṁśa* has praised this work But in the available manuscripts of this work, the name of its author has not been disclosed But Udyotanasūri has referred to Jaṭila[52] and later writers like Cāmuṇḍrāya and Dhavala, the author of the Apabhramsa *Harivaṁśa*[53] have clearly mentioned him The name Jaṭā Simhanandi is first found in the *Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa* As Upadhye rightly conjectures[54], Cāmuṇḍarāya calls him by that name in order to distinguish him from earlier Simhanandis[55] Still later writers like Nayasena, Pārśvapaṇḍita, Janna, and others show their acquintance with the *Varāṅgacarita* and its author Jaṭā Siṁhanandi

An epigraph from the holy Kopbal area in Raichur district of Karnatak, as noted in a previous chapter,[56] refers to this poet, who was evidently looked upon as a great saint It was probably inscribed a few centuries after the death of this savant It therefore appears that Jaṭā Simhanandi became a celebrated figure after his demise in both North and South India

The poem *Varāṅgacarita* runs to 31 chapters and describes the vicissitudes of the life of prince Varāṅga, the son of Dharmasena of Bhoja family, who ruled at Uttamapura in the territory of Vinītā (Ayodhyā) Some of the adventures of this prince remind us of those of Vasudeva as described in the Śvetāmbara work *Vasudevahuṇḍī* However, being written in easy, graceful Sanskrit, it is a much more readable work The poet uniformly calls it *dharmakathā,* which according to Haribhadra's definition is full of religious topics[57] Varāṅga, the hero is represented as possessing great religious virtues The poet, as shown by Upadhye,[58] was influenced by the views of Kundakunda, Umāsvāti, Samantabhadra, Siddhasena and others In chapters XXIV-XXV he attacks the views of different Schools in an amateurish way and it appears from this apparent youngmanishness that he was a comparatively young man when he wrote this poem

It appears from this poem that Jainism enjoyed rare prosperity during Jaṭila's time[59] There are references to gorgeous

Jain temples with images of precious stones[60] Elsewhere he has referred to the scenes of the Purāṇas which were painted or carved on the walls of the temples[61] He also refers to the royal gifts of villages to the Jain temples[62] A number of *janapadas* including Anga, Vanga, Magadha, Kaliṅga, Suhma, Puṇḍra, Kuru, Aśmaka, Ābhīra, Avanti, Kosala, Matsya, Saurāṣṭra, Vindhyapāla, Mahendra, Sauvīra, Saindhava, Kāśmīra, Odra, Vaidarbha, Vaidisa, Pañcāla etc are mentioned in one place of this poem[63] Elsewhere Kāmboja, Bāhlīka, Simhala, Barbara, Kirāta, Gāndhāra, Pulinda are mentioned as non-Aryan peoples[64] The poet was equally at home with Hindu Purāṇic stories[65]

The well-known Dhanañjaya was the author of the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya* or *Dvisandhāna*[66] which is an epic in eighteen cantos. Nothing practically is known about the personal life of the poet except that his father was one Vasudeva, and mother bore the name of Śrīdevī Probably his *guru* was one Daśaratha It has been suggested that he was probably not a monk but a Digambara layman[67] This poem of Dhanañjaya has been praised by various poets including the famous Rājasekhara who flourished around 900 A D The poem is based on the two Hindu epics viz the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*, and unlike most Jain works, the characters are not represented as embracing the religion of the Jinas He was inspired, it appears by the writings of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Magha His other works are *Nāmamālā*, *Anekārtha-nāmamālā* and *Viṣāpahārastotra* Even Vīrasena in his *Dhavalā*[68] has quoted a verse from the *Anekārthanāmamālā* This shows that Dhanañjaya probably flourished in the 8th century A D, if not earlier N Premi has shown[69] hat Jinasena I in his *Ādipurāna* has consciously imitated a particular verse from the *Viṣāpahā-rastotra* That scholar has further drawn our attention to the fact that Somadeva (middle of the 10th century) in his famous *Yaśastilakacampū* writes a verse in imitation of the same poem of Dhanañjaya[70] This proves that the Jain poets and philosophers from 800 A D, were inspired by the writings of Dhanañjaya

To the eighth century we can assign at least two poems, written by the Digambara poets The first poem was written by Jinasena I and it was *Pārśvābhyudaya*[71] Jinasena II in his well-

known *Harivaṁśa*, which was completed in Śaka 705 refers to this poem of Jinasena I, who as we have already seen, was the famous disciple of the illustrious Vīrasena It follows therefore that *Pārśvābhyudaya* was written before 783 A D

The poem runs to four cantos and has altogether 364 stanzas. It was written in imitation of the famous *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa Like the *Meghadūta* it is written in the Mandākrāntā metre. This is a poetical life-story of Pārśvanātha In this poem the entire *Meghādūta* has been included by inserting one or two lines from that poem of Kālidāsa, whilst Jinasena I composed the rest Needless to say, there is little similarity between the love-sick Yaksa of Kālidāsa and the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains Yet Jinasena I, it appears, has acquitted himself creditably in this difficult and delicate task.

Probably the most remarkable Digambara poem of the second half of the 8th century is the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*[72] of Jinasena II, written according to the colophon of the poem in Śaka 705 corresponding to 783 A D In a previous chapter we discussed the information supplied by Jinasena II on the political condition of his time This poem, unlike many Jain works, give a very faithful account of the social, religious and cultural condition of India of the 8th century[73] There is detailed list[74] of peoples which can be compared with the similar lists in the Purāṇas and other works The only reference to the ancient town of Karnasuvarna in Indian literature is to found in this work[75] As we have already observed, the poet was influenced by Yativṛṣabha He was also equally at home with Brāhmanical works including the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas As Premi has pointed out[76], Jinasena II is the only writer to give a continuous list of Jain teachers from the days of Lohārya (same as Lohācārya), who flourished 683 years after Mahāvīra's demise, to his own time i e 783 A D There are altogether 29 preceptors between Lohārya and Jinasena II and the average comes to little over 21, which is quite reasonable It should however, be remembered that the author belonged to the Punnāṭa Sangha, which originated in the ancient Punnāṭa country, which was another name of Karnatak

The composition of the *Harivaṁśa* was started at the well-

known ancient town of Vardhamāna in Gujarat and was completed at the town of Dostaṭikā (modern Doṭṭāḍi)[77]. Vardhamāna is described as a prosperous city and a similar picture of this town is to be found in Hariṣena's *Bṛhatkathākośa*,[78] which was completed in 931 A D., some 150 years after the *Harivaṁśa* Among the earlier poets and philosophers, mentioned by Jinasena II, the following deserve notice—Samantabhadra, Siddhasena, Devanandi, Vajrasūri (same as Vajranandi, the disciple of Devanandi-Pūjyapāda), Mahāsena (the author of the missing *Sulocanākathā*), Raviṣeṇa, Jaṭā Simhanandi, Śānta (probably same as Śāntiṣena, about whom nothing is known), Viśeṣavādi (also mentioned by Vādirāja[79]), Kumārasena (whose fame was comparable to that of Prabhācandra[80]), Vīrasena, Jinasena I, and the unknown author of the *Vardhamāna Purāna*[81]

Several great Digambara poets and writers of the 9th century enriched the Indian literature by their solid contributions. We should at first discuss the *Ādipurāna*[82] written by Jinasena I, whose *Pārśvābhyudaya* was written before 783 A D, and who completed the *Jayadhavalā* of his *guru* in Śaka 759, corresponding to 838 A D There is little doubt that Jinasena I had a long life and his earliest poem *Pārśvābhyudaya* was probably written in his early youth We further learn from his disciple Gunabhadra that Jinesena I could not complete his *Ādipurāna,* and Gunabhadra wrote the last 1620 *Ślokas* of this poem which runs to 12,000 verses Jinasena I was the author of the first 42 chapters and the 3 verses of the 43rd chapter The remaining portion of the 43rd chapter and the last four were written by Guṇabhadra

The *Ādipurāna* is undoubtedly one of the finest poems written in the early mediaeval period It was apparently written after the *Jayadhavalā* commentary, and he was naturally a man of advanced years at the time of its composition The poem deals with the life of Ṛṣabha who is also known as Ādinātha. The poet calls it both 'Purāna' and 'Mahākāvya' It has been called an encyclopaedia of the Digambara religion.[83] He started this poem in order to write the lives of 63 great men; but he could only complete the lives of the first Tīrthankara and the first Cakravartin viz Bharata He knowledge of the writings of

the Brāhmaṇas and of various Arts has not yet been equalled by any Jain writer Being himself a Brāhmaṇa in his early life, he was acquainted with the Smṛti texts. His knowledge regarding the various *janapadas* is also remarkable.[84] In chapter 16 there is a short account of town-planning A treatise on the duties of warriors and the Art of governing is to be found in the 42nd chapter. He has also poetically described the six seasons, the moonrise, sunrise etc.[85] Even the beauty of the female body has not escaped his notice.[86] The various love-scenes, portrayed by the poet, fully justify our contention that the Jain poets scrupulously followed the footsteps of earlier Hindu poets in their treatment of love, romance etc The poet writes in an easy, limpid style and we will be fully justified if we call him the greatest Jain poet of all times.

Guṇabhadra, the great disciple of a great preceptor, as we have already said, is the author of the last portion of the *Ādipurāṇa* and the whole of the *Uttarapurāṇa*[87] The two poems are together known as the *Mahāpurāṇa* The *Uttarapurāṇa* runs to 8,000 verses and is therefore a shorter poem compared to the poem of Jinasena I He had great respect for his preceptor[88] It was formerly supposed that the *Uttarapurāṇa* was completed in Śaka 820, corresponding to 898 A D But Premi has shown[89] that the *Praśasti* of this poem was written by two poets viz Guṇabhadra and his disciple Lokasena The first 27 verses of the *Praśasti* was written by Guṇabhadra in which he has expressed the hope that the educated readers should pay all respect to this *Mahāpurāṇa* and make arrangements for a sufficient number of its copies. From verse No 28 to the end the *Praśasti* was written by Lokasena. We are told by him that the work was consecrated at Bankāpura in Śaka 820 when Akālavarṣa i e Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II was on the throne and Sāmanta Lokāditya was governing the region around that town. Premi suggests[90] that Guṇabhadra was probably not alive at that time and the work was completed much earlier.

Like his *guru*, Guṇabhadra was also a very accomplished poet. In this work he has written about all the Tīrthaṅkaras except Ṛṣabha and other great men of Jain mythology. The

story of Rāma as given in chapters 67-68 of this poem is a deliberate distortion of the story of Vālmīki. Daśaratha here like the *Daśaratha Jātaka* is painted as the king of Vārāṇasī. Sītā here is the daughter of Mandodarī, the wife of Rāvaṇa. Rāma's mother is here one Subālā and Lakṣmaṇa, the son of Kaikeyī The story told in the *Adbhuta Rāmāyana* is similar to the story told by Guṇabhadra The author has also made several changes in his treatment of the story of the other Hindu epic viz the *Mahābhārata.* Karna is here painted as the real son of Pāṇḍu, who, we are told, committed intercourse incognito with the virgin Kuntī (23 109 ff) Karna, who was abandoned by his mother, was later rescued by king Āditya (the name is significant), who afterwards asked his barren wife Rādhā to bring him up (23 112) He further informs us that the system of *prājāpatya* marriage started in ancient India with the marriage of Pāṇḍu and Kuntī (23 115) The examples of such distortions can easily be multiplied But unlike other Jain poets, Guṇabhadra has the frankness to ask his readers to consult the original work for details (25 117)[91] The story of Jīvandhara, as told in chapter 75, is quite interesting and later writers both in Sanskrit and Tamil wrote on it

Svayambhū, like Vimala and Raviṣeṇa, wrote on the Rāma story The name of his work is *Paumacariyu*[92] which is written in the Apabhraṁśa language In the very opening stanza of the first Sandhi of his work the poet declares that he has taken on hand to narrate the Rāma story after keeping in view the *Ārṣa.* The colophons of all the Parvans of Raviṣeṇa's *Padma-purāṇa* begin with it—*ityārṣe Śrī Raviṣenācāryaprokte Padma-purāṇe* This makes it clear that Svayambhū's reference pertains to that work. Elsewhere in Svayambhū's work (I. 2 9) we are told that he has embarked upon such a vast theme through the favour of Ācārya Raviṣeṇa.

The work is divided into five Books (called Kāṇḍas) viz. Vijjhāra, Ujjhā, Sundara, Jujjha and Uttara. The books are further divided into Sandhis Now, the earliest writer to refer to Svayambhū directly is Puṣpadanta, who wrote in 959 A D.

However as the editor Bhayani has shown[93], Svayambhū could not have written before the second half of the 9th century A.D, as he has referred[94] to Seuna-deśa, which was founded by Seuncandra I in the 1st half of the 9th century A D This country, according to the poet, was washed by the river Bhīmā (Bhīmarahī)[95] It has been suggested that Svayambhū should be identified[96] with Śrīpala mentioned by Jinesena I in his *Jayadhavalā* and *Ādipurāna* But there is really no basis for such a surmise since Syayambhū flourished after Jinasena I

The poet supplies us with some interesting information about the economic condition of India of his days He mentions a number of countries with their spcial products[97]—betel-leaf of Deulvaḍaya i e Devakulapāṭaka, betel-nut of Cedi, *kañcuā* or *kañcuka* of Citrakūta, jewel of Ceylon, musk of Nepāla, molasses of Rāmapura, arrow of Pratisṭhāna, etc Another list, preserved by Svayambhū[98], mentions various places along with the beautiful parts of the body for which their women were famous Since the list is very interesting, we are reproducing it below—

Place	*Part of the body*
Paunāra	Soles of feet
Cedi	Nails
Golla	Fingers
Mākandī	Ankles
Śrīparvata	Knees
Nepāla	Thighs
Karahāṭaka	Waist
Kāñcī	Hips
Gambhīrā	Navel
Singāriya	Back
Elāpura	Breasts
Madhyadeśa	Chest
Paścima-deśa	Shoulders
Dvārakā	Arms

Place	*Part of the body*
Sindhava	Wrists
Kaccha	Neck
Karnāṭaka	Teeth
Tungaviṣaya	Nose
Ujjayinī	Eyes
Citrakūṭa	Forehead
Kanauj	Ears
Dakṣinadeśa	Courteous manners

Svayambhū, elsewhere in his poem,[99] has given a list of peoples,[100] which is quite interesting from the point of view of historical geography

There are indications in Svayambhū's text that he was helped by his son called Tribhuvana-Svayambhū, who was also known as Kavirāja Cakravartī [101] It appears that the son had put a finishing touch to the works of his father A second work written by Svyambhū and his son is known This is the *Riṭṭhanemicariu* or *Harivamsapurāna* This work[102] runs to 18,000 verses and has altogether 112 Sandhis and 3 Books (*Kāndas*) viz Yadava, Kuru and Yuddha A third work, written by the father and son called *Pamcamicariu* has not yet been discovered [103]

Among other Digambara writers of the 9th century we can mention the names of Ugrāditya, Śākatāyana, Mahāvīrācārya and Amoghavarṣa I Ugrāditya was the author of the *Kalyāna-kāraka*,[104] a medical treatise, written according to the testimony of the poet, during the reign of Amoghavarṣa I We are further told that the author belonged to the Deśigana, Pustakagaccha, Pansogavalliśākhā of the Mūlasangha of the line of Kundakunda One Lalitakīrti Ācārya was his colleague, and his *guru* was Śrīnandī in whose establishment at Rāmagiri, which was situated in the level plains of Vengī in the country of Trikalinga, that Ugrāditya wrote his treatise, That monks belonging to the Deśigana resided in this part of India is proved by a 10th century inscription found from Udaygiri-Khaṇḍagiri, which has already

been discussed.[105] The author further claims that the discourse on the uselessness of meat diet was delivered in the court of Śrī Nṛpatunga Vallabha Mahārājādhirāja, who was none other than Amoghavarṣa I.[106] A few scholars refuse to believe that this work was composed at such an early date[107], but there is no genuine basis which can confirm their suspicion.

The work, written in Sanskrit, is divided into two parts with 25 chapters. It further appears that the author was acquainted with the earlier medical texts including those written by Hindu and Jain authorities. It further appears that the author was deeply indebted to the works of medicine, written by Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda.

Śākaṭāyana, who was also a contemporary of Amoghavarṣa I was the author of the *Śabdānuśāsana* and its commentary *Amoghavṛtti*.[108] The work was certainly written in the second half of the 9th century. He belonged to the Yāpanīya Sangha as we learn from the commentary on *Nandīsūtra* by Malayagiri.[109]

Mahāvīrācārya was the celebrated author of the *Gaṇitasārasangraha*[110], which was written, according to the testimony of the writer, during the reign of Amoghavarṣa I, who is described by him as the follower of Syādvāda.[111] The author was acquainted with *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta. It has been claimed[112] that he was much advanced in his field and his treatment of geometrical problems deserves special notice. The work was very much popular in South India and a Telegu translation appeared in the 11th century.[113]

Amoghavarṣa I, who had special love for the Jain religion, is the author of the *Praśnottara Ratnamālā*,[114] which also exists in Tibetan translation.[115] The work begins with an adoration to Vardhamāna[116] which shows that it is a Jain poem. The author displays typical Jain sentiment in his work, which is natural for a person with Jain leanings.

The most remarkable Digambara Jain author in the first half of the 10th century was Hariṣena, the author of the *Bṛhatkathākośa*.[117] Fortunately for us, he not only states the year of its composition, but also refers to the king in whose kingdom, his work was composed. In the *Praśasti*[118] he gives the date both in the Śaka and Vikrama years. It was composed

in Vikrama 989 or Śaka 853, corresponding to 931-932 A D, when Vinayādikapāla was the ruling sovereign The place of its composition is given as Vardhamāna, where Jinasena II had started the composition of his *Harivamśa* Emperor Vinayādikapāla is to be identified with the Pratīhāra Vināyakapāla, who ruled according to his Asiatic Society plate in 931 A D[119] Several other inscriptions of this sovereign are known[120] The kingdom of this king has been compared with that of Indra (*Śakropamānake*)[121] Hariṣena's evidence proves that the Pratīhāra suzerainty was accepted in Gujarat as late as 931 A D The poet, like the author of the *Harivamsa* (783 A D), belonged to the Punnāṭa Sangha

In the *Praśasti*[122] the poet thus gives his spiritual ancestry There was that Maunibhaṭṭāraka, the full moon in the firmament of the Punnāta Sangha His disciple was Śrīhariṣena, the disciple of the latter was Bharatasena,, a man of encyclopaedic learning And our author (who describes himself as devoid of learning and intelligence) was the disciple of this great Bharatasena He further states that he has written his poem on the basis of the *Ārādhanā*,[123] which is surely the original work of Śivārya

The *Bṛhatkathākośa* is an extremely informative work The author not only shows his thorough acquaintance with the two epics,[124] but also with the original *Bṛhatkathā*[125] It is also apparent that the poet was thoroughly at home with the earlier Digambara literature There is an extremely interesting reference to the famous Sun-temple (*Ādityabhavana*) of Mūlasthāna or Multan (98 110), which was destroyed by the Muslims within 60 years of the composition of this poem The author describes the great Bhadrabāhu as a resident of Devakottapura, which was situated in Pundravardhana, which was also known as Varendra (131 1, 96 1) The city of Mathurā is described as abounding in Jain temples (2 1), a similar description of Ujjayinī is also to be found (3 2) He has also shown his acquaintance with the *Pañcatantra* and one story[126] including the verse (*aparīkṣitam na kartavyam* etc) is taken directly from that work The religious rivalry between the Jains and Buddhists are described in the story No 12, where we have references to *Buddha-*

ratha and *Jinaratha* (12 116) Chariot-procession in honour of Buddha is referred to even by Fa-hien[127] The Kāyasthas are ridiculed in story Nos 23 and 25 They are denounced in a number of Brāhmanical works including the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*[128] Reference to 18 scripts is also found in this poem (22 4) This poem also contains one of the early references to 18 Purāṇas (126 175) There is an interesting story connected with Kārttikeya (No 136) and like the *Mahābhārata* the town of Rohīṭeka (Rohītaka) is connected with the worship of that deity (136.23) Worship of Durgā was popular at Nasik 71 8 ff) , Rāmagiri is described as situated in the junction of Kalingaviṣaya and Andhraviṣaya (59 194) and it is apparent that this Rāmagiri is to be identified with its namesake, mentioned in the *Kalyāṇakāraka*. There was great rivalry between Hinduism and Jainism (No 33) In this connection there is a reference to *Brahmaratha* (33 9) We are also told the origin of Vindhyavāsinī by Hariṣena (106 248 ff) The Śvetāmbaras are denounced as holding false doctrine (131 69) and we are further told in this connexion that the Śvetāmbaras (*Ardhaphālakāh*) originated at Valabhī, which is described as situated in Saurāṣṭra

The above discussion abundantly shows that this work of Harisena is one of the representative Digambara Jain texts of the early mediaeval period It is surely one of the important source-books for the historian of the Jain religion

Let us now turn our attention to the two great Digambara literary luminaries of the second half of the 10th century A D The first was the celebrated Puṣpadanta and the second was Somadeva Puṣpadanta is the author of the following three works—*Tisatthimahāpurisagunālankāru* (*Triṣastimahāpuruṣaguṇālankāra*), *Nāyakumāracariu* (*Nāgakumāracarita*) and *Jasaharacariu* (*Yaśodharacarita*), all of which were written in Apabhraṁśa

The first work is also known as the *Mahāpurāṇa*[129] It is divided into two parts viz *Ādipurāṇa* and *Uttarapurāṇa* The second part also includes the *Padmapurāṇa* and *Harivamsapurāṇa* The entire work runs to some 20,000 verses and has altogether 142 Sandhis (chapters) The work, according to the testimony of the poet, was written under the patronage of Bharata, who was

the minister of Kṛṣṇa III The work was completed in Śaka 887 corresponding to 965 A D He was at that time a resident of Mānyakheṭa Puṣpadanta was originally a Brahmin Śaiva, but afterwards became a Digambara ascetic[130]

Puṣpadanta was undoubtedly the greatest poet of the Apabhraṁśa language He carries to perfection the possibilities of Apabhraṁsa as a vehicle of poetry The *Mahāpurāṇa*, which delineates the lives of 63 great men, is undoubtedly one of the finest poems of the 10th century In numerous places of this poem he shows his great poetic power and some of the verses praising Bharata, his patron, are written in chaste Sanskrit We further learn from some of the subjective verses of the work that Puṣpadanta was a man of delicate temperament and health He had several titles of which *Abhimānameru, Kāvvaratnākara, Kavikulatilaka, Sarasvatīnilaya* etc deserve special mention It has further been conjectured that that the poet in his earlier life had some bitter experience and had to leave his original home[131] He was however cordially welcomed by the minister Bharata at Mānyakheṭa, where all his creative writings were produced

The *Nāgakumāracarita*[132] is a short work consiting of nine Sandhis It appears that even at the time of its composition Krsna III was on the throne of Mānyakheṭa and this city still enjoyed rare prosperity It was composed in the palace of Nanna, the son of Bharata, his earlier patron The *Yaśodhara-carita*[133] is another beautiful work consisting of four Sandhis The story of Yasodhara was a favourite theme with the Jain poets and celebrated literary luminaries like Somadeva, Vādirāja and others have written on it This poem was also written at the residence of Nanna, when Mānyakheṭa was virtually a ruined and deserted city We must remember that according to Dhanapāla's *Pāiyalacchī* Mānyakheṭa was plundered by the Mālava army in V S 1029, corresponding to 972 A.D Probably Khoṭṭiga was the reigning king when this calamity befell Mānyakheṭa, Even in the *Mahāpurāṇa* there is a verse[134] which refers to the sack of Mānyakheṭa by the king of Dhārā This particular verse was probably composed seven years after the composition of the *Mahāpurāṇa* We just do not know what

happened to the poet or his new patron after the fall of Mānyakheta.[135]

The exact contemporary of Puṣpadanta was Somadeva, who as we have already noticed, in a previous chapter, is mentioned in an inscription of Śaka 888, when Kṛṣṇa III was the sovereign king.[136]

Three works of Somadeva have already been published. They are *Nītivākyāmṛta*, *Yaśastilakacampū* and *Adhyātmataranginī*. The *Nītivākyāmṛta*,[137] according to its commentator,[138] was written at the request of Mahendrapāla, king of Kanauj. Raghavan proposed his identification with Mahendrapāla II, who is known from an inscription of V.S. 1003 corresponding to 946 A.D.[139] Now we definitely know from the *Yaśastilakacampū* that it was written in Śaka 881 corresponding to 949 A.D. It follows therefore that the *Nītivākyāmṛta* was written before the *Yaśastilakacampū*. However in the *Praśasti* of the *Nītivākyāmṛta* Somadeva is described as the author of the *Yaśodharacarita*. Raghavan and Premi[140] have opined that this *Praśasti* was added afterwards. It appears that Somadeva started his career at Kānyakubja and afterwards migrated to the South. We observed in a previous chapter that Somadeva was probably a Jain monk of Bengal, belonging to the Gauḍasangha. Afterwards he lived in the Pratīhāra kingdom from there he migrated to the Sapādalakṣa country.

The *Nītivākyāmṛta* is largely based on the the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya and is written in prose. However it is surprising that nowhere in this work the author has cared to mention that great authority. Some earlier authorities like Śukra, Bhīṣma, Viśālākṣa etc., who are mentioned by Kautilya, are however referred to by Somadeva in this work. The language is attractive, which is but natural for a genius like Somadeva.

The *Yaśastilakacampū*[141] is one of the finest novels in the Sanskrit literature and, in some respects, it is similar to the *Kādambarī* of Bāna, which is a model for Somadeva. The conversion of the cruel king of the Yaudheyas viz. Māridatta, who is described as a devotee of the goddess Candamārī, to Jainism is the theme of the novel. It is basically based on a story of the *Uttarapurāna*. As we have already observed, he story of

Yaśodhara was extremely popular among the early Jain writers The author of the *Kuvalayamālā*[142] is the first writer (Saka 700) to refer to the story of this prince of Ujjayinī written by Pravañjana Afterwards Haribhadra treated it in his 4th Book of his *Samarāiccakahā* Hariṣena and Puṣpadanta also wrote on Yaśodhara's adventures However, there is little doubt that Somadeva is the most successful of those who have written on this subject The work is also rich in cultural details and the students of social and cultural history of India can use this work with profit[143] The third published work of Somadeva viz the *Ādhyatmatarangiṇī*[144] is also known as the *Yogamārga*, and as the name indicates, it deals with spiritual matters A commentary on it was written in the first half of the 12th century by Ganadharakīrti

Among other prominent works which were written by the Digambara writers in the 10th century A,D, the folowing may be mentioned—*Neminirvānamahākāvya*[145] by Vāgbhaṭa, *Candraprabhacaritamahākāvya*[146] by Vīranandi, *Vardhamānacarita*[147] by Asaga, *Subhāṣitaratnasandoha*[148], by Amitagati, who was a contemporery of Muñja, *Jambudīvapannati*[149] by Padmanandi and *Pradyumnacaritakāvya*[150] by Mahāsena

Several works were also written in our period by the Digambara writers in Tamil, Kannada and other languages The Tamil *Śīvaka-Śinaāmaṇi*[151] written by Tiruttakadeva in based on the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Gunabhadra and was written in the 10th century It is undoubtedly one of the finest poems written in that language Several Digambara Jain writers been 850 and 1000 A D, are known to have written in Kannaḍa The earliest of these writers was Gunavarma I who wrote his *Neminātha Purāṇa*[152] in the middle of the 9th century A D. The three gems of the Kannaḍa literature of the 10th century were all Digambara Jains They were Pampa, Ponna and Ranna Pampa is the celebrated author of the *Ādi Purāṇa*[153], which is on the 1st Tīrthaṅkara, Ponna wrote the *Śānti Purāṇa*[154] (story of the 16th Tīrthaṅkara) and Ranna's fame rests on his *Ajita Purāṇa*[155] (life story of the 2nd Tīrthankara) A patron of Ranna was Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, the celebrated author of the *Cāmuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*[156]

NOTES

1 See the passage quoted in N Premi s *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p 147 fn 1 See also *Prastāvanā* to Vol I *of Ṣatkhaṇḍāgama*, for a different view see J P Jain, *The Jain Sources* etc, pp 186 ff

2 *Ṣatkhaṇḍāgama* Vol I, pp 67-72 this work has been published in 16 volumes from Amarāvati (1939-1958) under the editorship of H L Jain

3 See J C Jain, *Prakrit Sāhitya kā itihāsa* p 275

4 See *Jaina Sāhitya kā brhad itihāsa* Vol IV, p 60, see also *Prastāvanā*, *Ṣatkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol I, pp 46-53

5 See in this connexion J P Jain, *Jain Sources etc*, p 188 see also *J B B R A S*, Vol XVII p 226, see for further details, Premi, *op cit*, pp 143 f

6 Edited with the *Cūrni* of Yativrṣabha by H L Jain, Calcutta, 1955

7 See *J S B I* Vol IV, p 89

8 *Loc cit*

9 *Ibid* pp 91-1000,

10 Edited in several volumes from Mathurā 1944-63

11 For the relevant verse see Premi, *op cit* p 140 fn 2

12 Edited (Bhāratīya Jñānapītha), Varanasi, 1947-58

13 Published in two parts (MDJM) from Bombay (Vikrama Samvat 1977 and 1980)

14 See Ghatge s paper in *I H Q*, 1935 see also Jain, J C, *op cit*, p 311

15 See Jain, *Jain Sources etc* p 126, see also *Jain Antiquary*, Vol XII pp 19-23 see in this connexion Winternitz, *H I L*, Vol II, p 577 fn 2

16 Edited with the commentaries of Aparājita and Āśādhara, Sholapur 1935 An earlier edition was published from Bombay, V S 1989

17 See Jain, J C, *op cit*, p 308

18 See *supra*, p 103

19 Ed Bhāratīya Jñānapītha, 1974, p 14

20 See H L Jain, *Nagpur University Journal* No 9 see also J P Jain, *op cit*, pp 130 f

21 See Premi, *op cit*, pp 80 ff

22 For the original verse see Premi, *op cit*, p 2 fn 4

23 Edited in two volumes H L Jain and A N Upadhye, Sholapur, 1943 1951

24 See Upadhye, Introduction Vol II, p 4

25 *Ibid* p 5

26 IV 1508

27 IV 1504

28 See Chatterjee, A K, *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition*, pp 100 f

29 IV 1481

30 See J P Jain, *op cit* p 137

31 I 65

32 Story No 156

33 Edited by A N Upadhye, 1960 in Rājacandra Jaina Śāstramālā

34 See *Jaina Sources* etc, p 127

35 See Lüders, *List* No 71

36 Introd, p 69

37 Edited in 4 volumes with the commentaries of Abhayacandra and Keśavavarnin, Calcutta, 1921 For other editions see *J S B I*, Vol IV, p 133 fn 4

38 Edited in M D J M series, Bombay, V S 1974

39 Edited by Premi, Bombay, V S 1974

40 Verses 49-50 which are quoted by Premi in his *Jaina Sāhitya* etc, p 175 fn 1

41 Edited and published with the commentary of Abhayanandi Muni in the Pandit N S Vols 31 34

42 Quoted by Premi *op cit* p 43 fn 1

43 Premi, *op cit*, pp 45 f

44 See *J S B I* Vol V, p 11

45 Edited in M D J M series, Nos., 29-31 Bambay, V S 1985 A new edition in three volumes was published by Bhāratīya Jñānapītha, Varanasi 1958 59

46 123 167

47 123 166

48 See Premi's Hindi Preface to Vol I of *Padmacarita*, pp 1 3

49 See *A I L C T* pp 99 f

50 Edited by A N Upadhye in M D J M series (No 40), Bombay, 1938

51 See for example Premi's Introduction *Padmacarita*, pp 2 f

52 The verse quoted by Upadhye in his Introduction to the *Varāṅgacarita*, p 10

53 *Ibid*, pp 10-11

54 *Ibid* p 12

55 The earliest Siṁhanandi, as we have already noted in a previous chapter, was connected with the Western Gaṅgas. Another monk of that name is mentioned in an inscription from Śravana Belgola dated Śaka 622, see *E C*, Vol II, No 32

56 See *supra*, p 195

57 See *Samarāiccakahā*, p 2

58 Introduction, pp 20 ff

59 See XV 136 ff, see XII 57 ff

60 XV 139

61 XXII 61 ff
62 XXIII 91
63 XVI 32 f
64 VIII 3 f
65 See ch XXV
66 Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha edition, Varanasi, 1970
67 See Premi, *op cit*, p 109, see also *JSBI*, Vol VI, p. 526
68 See *JSBI*, Vol VI, pp 527 f, see also Premi, *op cit*, p 111
69 Premi, *op cit*, p 112 fn 1
70 *Loc cit*
71 Edited with English translation, Bombay, 1965
72 Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Varanasi, 1962 An earlier edition was published from Bombay (M D J M), 1930
73 See the present Author's 'Jain Harivamśa included in his *AILCT* pp 89-107
74 11 67 ff
75 52 90
76 Premi, *op cit*, p 116
77 66 53
78 Edited by A N Upadhye, *Prasasti*, verse No 4
79 See Premi, *op cit*, p 124
80 Jinasena I has also mentioned Prabhācandra, for the relevant verse see Premi, *op cit*, p 124 fn 2
81 The relevant verses regarding all these predecessors of Jinasena II are quoted in Premi's work, pp 124 ff
82 Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Varanasi, 1951 54 (in three volumes)
83 See Winternitz *HIL* Vol II, p 498, also *JSBI*, Vol VI, p 57
84 The list quoted in the present Author's *AIL CT*, p 106
85 9 11, 12 17, 26 148 etc
86 See 6 69 70 75
87 Edited Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Varanasi 1954, an earlier edition was published from Indore in V S 1975
88 See Premi, *op cit*, pp 138-39
89 *Ibid*, pp 141 f
90 *Loc cit*
91 For further details see the Author's paper entitled 'The Bhārata Tradition in Jain Literature, *JAIH* Vol VII, pp 159 ff
92 Edited by H Bhayani in three volumes 1953-54
93 See his Introduction to Vol III of his work, p 41
94 69 63
95 *Loc cit*
96 See J P Jain, *op cit*, pp 201 f
97 Vol II, p 192.
98 Vol II, pp 224 25
99 82 6 1-6

100 The list is quoted in the present Author's *A I L C T*, p 194

101 See Premi, *op cit*, p 198

102 *Ibid*, p 201

103 *Ibid*, p 203

104 Published from Sholapur, 1940

105 See *supra*, p. 177

106 The relevant line is quoted in J P Jain, *Jain Sources* etc, p 206 fn 1

107 See *J S B I*, Vol V, p 231, see also Premi, *op cit*, p 49 footnote

108 See for further details *I A*, Vol 43, pp 205-212, Vol 44, pp 275-279, *A B O R I*, Vol. I, pp 7-12, and Premi, *op cit*, pp 155 ff

109 Quoted in Premi's work, p 157 fn 1

110 Published with an English translation by M Rangacharya, Madras, 1912

111 See Premi, *op cit*, p. 151 and footnote 6

112 See *J S B I*, Vol V, p 161

113 *Ibid* p 162

114 Edited by K P Pathak, Bombay

115 See Bhandarkar *Early History of the Deccan* p 95 and Premi, *op cit*, p 151

116 The *śloka* quoted in Premi's work, p 151 fn 1

117 Edited A N Upadhye, Bombay, 1943

118 *Praśasti*, verses 11 12

119 See *I A*, Vol 15 pp 138-41 see also H C Ray, *D H N I*, Vol I pp 584 85

120 See G C Choudhary *P H N I* etc, pp 43 f

121 *Praśasti* vs 13

122 Verses 3-7

123 Verse No 8

124 Cf the story Nos 43, 58 83 84 89 96 and 122

125 Cf Nos 143 and 153

126 No 102 2

127 Legge's translation, p 15

128 I 336—"*pidyamānāh prajā rakṣet Kāyasthaiśca viśeṣatah*

129 Edited in 3 Volumes by P L Vaidya, Bombay, 1937-41

130 For further details are Premi, *op cit*, 225 ff

131 See Premi, *op cit* pp 231 f

132 Critically edited by H L Jain, Karanja, 1933

133 Ed P L Vaidya, Karanja, 1931

134 See Premi, *op cit*, p 250

135 The evidence of the recently discovered *Dharmaparīkṣā* written by Pandit Hariṣena in 987 A D, proves that within a few years after the composition of the *Mahāpurāna* he became famous, see Premi, *op cit* p 247.

136 See *supra*, p 201

137 Edited in *M D J M* V S 1979, an earlier edition was published by Nirnaysagar Press

138 Quoted in Premi's work, pp 180 f

139 *E I* Vol 14, p 176, see also Raghavan in *Jain Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol X, part II

140 See Premi, *op cit* p 182

141 Edited in Mahāvīra Jaina Granthamālā, Varanasi, in 2 volumes (1960, 1971), an earlier edition was published by Nirnaysagar Press, Bombay (1901-03)

142 P 3 (*S J G M*)

143 For fuller treatment see K K Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture* Sholapur, 1945, see also G C Jain, *Yaśastilaka kā sāmskrtik adhyayan*, Varanasi, 1967

144 The text of this work is included in *M D J M*, Vol XIII entitled *Tattvānuśāsnādisangrahah*, Bombay V S 1975

145 Nirnaysagar Press Bombay, 1936

146 Sholapur 1970 (Jīvarāja Granthamālā)

147 Edited in 1931 (Sholapur)

148 Nirnaysagar Press Bombay, 1909

149 See Premi, *op cit* pp 256 ff

150 *M D J M* Bombay, V S 1973

151 See Sastri, *The Colas* pp 666 f

152 See *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, *pp* 223 f

153 *Loc cit*

154 *Loc cit*

155 *Loc cit*

156 See Premi *op cit* pp 266 ff

CHAPTER XIV

Jain Thinkers

The earliest Jain philosopher was Umāsvāti (called Umāsvāmin by the Digambaras), who was the celebrated author of the *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra*[1], one of the most original works of philosophy, written by any thinker of ancient India There is a great deal of controversy regarding his date. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan assigns him to the first century A.D[2], and frankly speaking, there is nothing in the body of the text, that goes against this date The author also wrote a commentary[3], according to the Śvetāmbaras, although the Digambaras deny the authenticity of this *Bhāṣya*[4] But there is irrefutable proof that this commentary was known to the Śvetāmbara monks even in the early 7th century A D, if not earlier[5] Both Siddhasena Gani (*circa* 600 A D) and Haribhadra (middle of the 8th century) knew this *Bhāṣya* According to the *Praśasti,* at the end of this *Bhāṣya*, Umāsvāti was a monk belonging to the Uccanāgarī *śākhā*, which according to the *Therāvalī* was a branch of the Kodiya (Kol ya) *gana* and was quite popular in the Mathurā region, as we have already noted in a previous chapter This *śākhā* originated, according to the testimony of that text in the 3rd century B C The reference to the *śākhā* of Umāsvāti goes far to destroy the Digambara claim that he was a thinker of that sect In all probability, he wrote before the birth of the Digambara sect We further learn from the same *Bhāṣya* that he was a resident of Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra at the time of its composition He was a Brāhmana of the Kaubhīṣani *gotra* and his father's name was Svāti and mother was called Vātsī His preceptor in respect of initiation was Ghoṣanandi Kṣamāśramana and grand-preceptor was Vācakamukhya Śivasrī His teacher in respect of education, according to the *Praśasti,* was Vācakācārya Mūla and grand-preceptor was Mahāvācaka Mundpāda

According to the Digambara *Puttāvalīs*[6] Umāsvāmin was the 6th Digambara monk of the Sarasvatī *gccha*, according to another Digambara tradition he succeeded Kundakunda in 44 A D[7] But there is absolutely no doubt that not a single Digambara work or epigraph which makes him a successor of Kundakunda, is earlier than 1000 A D[8] As a matter of fact, it can be asserted with confidence, that Umāsvāti was the earlier philosopher and Kundakunda, who was a Southerner, could not have flourished before the 3rd century A D There is however nothing to show that Kundakunda was acquainted with the works of Umāsvāti

The *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* has 357 verses and has altogether ten chapters and this is the reason why it is also known as the *Dasādhyāyī* Writers belonging to both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects have written learned commentaries on this text It is believed that the earliest commentary on this work of Umāsvāti was written by Samantabhadra[9] in 84,000 verses which was known as the *Gandhahastimahābhāsya* it has further been contended that the earliest section of this work is the well-known *Āptamīmāmsā* or *Devāgamastotra*[10] But as Jugalkishore Mukhtar[11] has shown there is no proof that the *Gandhahasti* was a commentary on that philosophical treatise of Umāsvāti, and till now no such work has come to light Therefore we should look upon the *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Pūjyapāda as its earliest available commentary Several other celebrated savants also wrote commentaries of this treatise of Umāsvāti, which will be discussed afterwards

It is difficult to make a correct assessment of the influence exercised by Umāsvāti on the Jain thinkers of later times. But it appears that not a single thinker, with the possible exception of Kundakunda and Samantabhadra, was immune from the all-pervading influence of this Brahmin savant In the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*[12] Jinaprabha refers to Umāsvāti as a writer of 500 texts and a resident of Pātaliputra

After Umāsvāti the most celebrated Jain philosopher was Kundakunda, who is probably the most controversial figure among the early Jain savants Before we discuss his exact time, we have to refer to the works which are assigned to him, and

all of which are very significantly written in the Prakrit language

The *Saṭkhaṇḍāgamaṭīkā* is assigned to Kundakunda by Indranandi in his *Śrutāvatāra* This commentary was known as the *Parikarma* and is repeatadly mentioned by Vīrasena in his *Dhavalā*[13] However, according to another authority this particular commentary was written by Kundakīrti, a disciple of Kundakunda The work is now lost and Upadhye has doubts regarding Kundakunda's authorship of this commentary[14]

The eight *Pāhuḍas*[15] which are ascribed to Kundakunda according to Upadhye[16] are quite in tune with the phraseology of the *Pravacanasāra,* one of the representative works of that philosopher The *Damsanapāhuḍa* has 36 verses, *Cāritta* 44, *Bodha* 62, *Bhava* 163, *Sutta* 27, *Mokkha* 106, *Linga* 72 and *Sīla* has 40 verses In the *Bhāvapāhuḍa,* it is interesting to note, Śivabhuti is mentioned (vs 53) and this Śivabhūti seems to be identical with the person, who is represented in the Śvetāmbara texts as the founder of the Digambara sect At the end of the *Bodhapāhuda,* we are told, that it is work of the disciple of Bhadrabāhu However, we cannot identify this Bhadrabāhu with the celebrated contemporary of Candragupta Maurya

The *Ravanasāra*[17] is also ascribed to Kundakunda, and has 162 verses As Prof Upadhye points out,[18] a few of the verses of this work are written in Apabhramsa, which probably shows that it is not a genuine work of Kundakunda The *Bārasa-Anuvekkhā*[19] has 91 verses As the name suggests, it deals with twelve reflections which should be cultivated for the stoppage of Karmic influx It was a fascinating subject with the Jain authors of both the sects,[20] Some of the *gāthās* are common with the 8th chapter of the *Mūlācāra* It has further been pointed out[21] that Pūjyapāda in his *Sarvārthasiddhi*[22] quotes five *gāthās* from this text of Kundakunda, which are found in the same order in the present text of that work The *Niyamasāra*[23] seems to be a genuine work of Kundakunda and it has altogether 187 verses It has a commentary by Padmaprabha, who flourished around 1000 A D This same commentator has quoted the verses of Amṛtacandra, who wrote commentaries on three *Pāhuḍas* of Kundakunda[24] There is a discussion on the three jewels namely Right Faith Right Knowledge and Right

Conduct in this work The *Pañcāstikāyasāra*[25] is preserved in two recensions, one by Amrtacandra which has 173 verses, and the other by Jayasena which has 181 verses. As Upadhye[26] points out, this work is a mere compilation as its original name viz *Pamcatthiyasamgaha* suggests

The finest and most popular work of Kundakunda appears to be the *Samayasāra*,[27] which has 415 verses, according to the earlier commentator Amrtacandra (circa 10th century), and 439 *gāthās*, according to Jayasena, who flourished in the second half of the 12th century A D The Sānkhya doctrine is criticised in *gāthās* 117, 122 and 340 there is also reference to *Do-kiriyā-vāda* which was first preached by Ārya Ganga 228 years after Mahāvīra The *Pravacanasāra*[28] has 275 *gāthās* according to Amrtacandra, and 311 according ta Jayasena It is a very important text of the Digambara Jains

Kundakunda has almost become a legendary figure and hundreds of stories are told about him by the Digambara Jains Various dates have been suggested for him and Upadhye, a very competent scholar, would place him in the 1st century A D[29] However it appears that Upadhye has mainly relied on the evidence of the Mercara plates of Śaka 388 which are definitely spurious [30] even if we accept it to be a genuine copy of an older record, we cannot assign the earliest of the six monks, mentioned here, before 325 A D (taking 25 years for each generation), who is delineated as belonging to the *anvaya* of Kundakunda It is significant that in no genuine record of the early Gangas, Kundakunda is mentioned by name As a matter of fact, the *anvaya* of Kundakunda appears only in the records of South India, which were inscribed after 900 A D This however does not prove that Kundakunda never existed in reality As we have already pointed out, Pūjyapāda definitely quotes a few verses from the *Bārasa-Anuvekkhā*, and the date of Pūjyapāda is fortunately now known. Devasena in his *Darśanasāra*[31] informs us that the Drāvida Sangha was founded by Vajranandi, the disciple of Pūjyapāda in the Vikrama year 526 corresponding to 468 A D Therefore, we have to assign Pūjyapāda, the teacher of Vajranandi in the first half of the

5th century A D And since Pūjyapāda knows Samantabhadra,[32] who probably flourished after Kundakunda, we have to assign the latter in the early 4th century A D, which is the date suggested for him even by the writer of the Mercara plates. The present village of Kondakunde[33], situated in the Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh, may probably represent the original native-place of this Digambara savant

Samantabhadra, like Kundakunda, is regarded as a great Digambara savant and one of the most powerful exponents of the doctrine of *Syādvāda* But like Kundakunda his personal life is shrouded in obscurity According to the colophons of a few manuscripts he was the son of the king of Uragapura (Tiruchirapalli), which is said to be included in the Phanimandala[34] A few other manuscripts, call him by the name Śāntivarman[35] and it is tempting to identify him with his namesake of the Kadamba dynasty However such speculations do not lead us anywhere and all we know about his personal achievements are to be found for the first time in the 11th century *Kathākośa*[36] of Prabhācandra, who was a contemporary of Jayasimha of Dhārā In this work Samantabhadra is represented as calling himself the naked ascetic from Kāñcī He is further shown as the preceptor of Śivakoṭi,[37] the author of the *Ārādhanā* That work delineates him as visiting places like Pundravardhana, Dasapura, Vārānasī, Pāṭaliputra, Kāñcī, Mālava, Sindhu, Ṭhakka (Punjab) and Karahātaka It appears that Samantabhadra was an itinerant *sādhu* and was universally respected for his vast learning and mesmeric personality

Regarding the date of Samantabhadra, this much is certain that he flourished before Pūjyapāda Formerly scholars like Vidyabhusan or Winternitz were not aware of the evidence supplied by the *Darśanasāra* (933 A D) on Pūjyapāda s date and their chronology was therefore based on surmise Now, happily we know the approximate wate of Pūjyapāda who emphatically mentions Samahtabhadra in his *Jainendra*[38] The traditional Digambara chronology places him two generations before Devanandi Pūjyapāda[39] and we will be justified in placing Samantabhadra in the last quarter of the 4th century A D[40]

Among the works of Samantabhadra the most important and significant is the *Āptamīmāṃsā*,[41] which as we have already said, is also known as the *Devāgama* This poem has 114 verses, each of which is a beauty in its own right This work is replete with discussions on logical principles besides a review of the contemporary schools of philosophy including the Advaitavāda This work, as noted by Vidyabhusan,[42] has been cited by the Hindu philosopher Vācaspati Misra in explaining Śankara s criticism of the Syādvāda The earliest commentator of this great philosophical poem of Samantabhadra was Akalanka (8th century), followed by Vidyānanda and others Several commentaries on this work also exist in Kannada, Tamil and other Indian languages,[43] which show that it was looked upon as one of the most precious poems on philosophy by the later Jain thinkers The second work of Samantabhadra is *Yuktyanusāsana*[43A] which is a poem of 64 verses and has a Sanskrit commentary by Vidyānanda It appears from the commentary[44] that this work was composed after the *Āptamīmāṃsā* Like that poem it is also full of useful discussions The *Svayambhūstotra*[45] is a poem of 143 verses and it contains *ślokas* in praise of various Tirthankaras The highest number of verses (20) are reserved for Arhanātha and the second highest (10) for Nemīnātha Mahāvīra has 8 and the others 5 each The only commentary on it is by Prabhācandra The 4th work of Samantabhadra is *Jinastutiśataka*[46] which has 116 verses and has a commentary by Narasiṃha Bhaṭṭa It is a truly theistic poem and therefore very appealing Nothing is known regarding the date of the commentator

The *Ratnakarandakaśrāvakācāra*[47] which is also known as the *Upāsakādhyayana* is a manual of morals, as the name indicates, for the Jain layman There is little doubt that it is one of the most popular Jain texts and in almost each Digambara Bhāṇḍār one or two copies of this work will be found The only available Sanskrit commentary on it is by Prabhācandra, about whose exact date there is some doubt, as we have a formidable number of Jain scholars[48] bearing this name The work has been highly praised by Vādirāja in his *Pārśvanāthacarita*[49], which was completed in Śaka 947 corresponding to 1025 A D The commenta-

tor Prabhācandra is also full of praise for this work[50] Authors like Cāmuṇḍarāya and Padmaprabha have also freely used it[51]

Samantabhadra was looked upon as a model by later Jain savants including the great Jinasena I[52] That scholar represents him as a supreme poet, capable of destroying the dense darkness of ignorance by the lightning of his wisdom Thinkers of later times also are full of praise for Samantabhadra and his works[53] A number of Samantabhadra's works are now unfortunately lost

Siddhasena Divākara is identified by some[54] with Kṣapaṇaka, traditionally regarded as one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya That he flourished in the Gupta period is indirectly proved by the fact that he is mentioned by Pūjyapāda (early 5th century) in his *Jainendra*[55] He is claimed by both the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras According to a tradition, current with both the sects, Siddhasena Divākara performed a miracle during Vikramāditya's time in the celebrated Mahākāla temple of Ujjayini He is the author of the two well known books viz *Nyāyāvatāra*[56] and *Sammatitarka-Sūtra*[57] Both the works deal with logic The *Nyāyāvatāra* explains the doctrine of *pramāna* (source of valid knowledge) and *Naya* (the method of comprehending things from particular standpoint)[58] Siddhasena also a wrote a commentary on the famous work of Umāsvāti[59] This work has been quoted by Siddhasena II who flourished about 600 A D[60] In the 7th-century *Cūrnī* text viz. *Āvasyakacūrnī* of Jinadāsa, Siddhasena Divākara is mentioned[61] Haribhadra (8th century) was also thoroughly acquainted with the philosophy of Siddhasena Divākara According to the Śvetāmbaras Siddhasena Divākara was originally a Digambara thinker from Karnāṭaka and afterwards was defeated and converted by the celebrated Vrddhavādin[62] It has also been demonstrated that he flourished before Jinabhadragani[63]

Pūjyapāda, who was also known as Devanandi, as we have already noticed, definitely flourished in the first half of the 5th century We have already referred to his grammar called *Jainendra* His *Sarvārthasiddhi*[64] is undoubtedly the greatest and one of the earliest commentaries on the *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* That he was an accomplished logician is evident from this

commentary which has been highly praised by later writers. There are a few stories dealing with his life which are practically of no value for the serious historian.

Akalanka is undoubtedly one of the greatest names in the history of Indian logic. However, like majority of ancient authors, he gives practically no information regarding his personal life. Only in his *Tattavārtharājavārttika* he informs us that he was the son of the king Laghu Havva[65]. Regarding the identity of this king, nothing is known. However in the *Kathākośa* of Prabhācandra we are told that he was the son of the minister of king Śubhatunga of Mānyakheṭa[66]. A number of writers beginning from Vādirāja and Prabhācandra refer to Akalanka's debating skill and his victory over the Buddhists. The earliest source that refers to this event is a 10th-century inscription of the reign of Būtuga II which has already been noticed[67]. Later Jain writers and authors of epigraphs have referred to this feat of Akalanka with evident pride. However regarding the name of the king, in whose reign this feat was accomplished, there is some confusion. As we have already noted, the patron of Akalanka, according to the *Kathākośa* of Prabhācandra was Śubhatunga, but the *Akalankacarita*[68] mentions one Sāhasatunga in whose reign Akalanka defeated the Buddhists. Prabhācandra further informs us that the debate took place in the court of Himaśītala who was evidently a contemporary of Śubhatunga. But the evidence of the *Akalankacarita* is confirmed by the Śravana Belgola inscription No. 67 which refers to Akalanka's patron as Sāhasatunga, who is generally identified with Dantidurga (middle of the 8th century)[69]. This date for Akalanka conflicts with the traditional date viz. Vikrama 700 given to him by later Jain writers[70]. But it appears that Akalanka was actually a contemporary of Dantidurga and flourished in the middle of the 8th century A.D. This should be regarded as the latest date for Akalanka since he was known to both Haribhadra and Jinasena I. The suggestion that he was known also to Jinadāsa (7th century) seems gratuitous[71]. It has further been suggested that Himaśītala of Akalanka tradition should be identified with the king of Kalinga who was a contemporary of Yuan Chwang.[72] But this too is a mere surmise. Since Akalanka knows the Buddhist and

Brāhmanical scholars, who flourished even in the 7th century, we will be justified in placing him in the 8th century A D

Apart from his *Tattvārtharājavārtika*[73] which is a commentary on the famous book of Umāsvāti, Akalanka is the reputed author of the *Aṣṭaśatī*,[74] a precious work of Jain philosophy in 800 verses dealing mainly with logic It is a commentary on the *Āptamīmāmsā* of Samantabhadra Another well-known work on logic by him is the *Nyāyaviniścaya*[75] His other works are *Laghīyastrayīprakarana* and *Svarūpasambodhana*[76] A treatise on expiatory rites called *Prāyaścittagrantha*[77] is also ascribed to him, but Akalanka's authorship of this work is extremely doubtful[78] It has 90 *ślokas* and is called *Śrāvakācāra*[79] The *Pramāṇa-saṃgraha*[80] contains 87 *kārikās* and is also a work of logic. Another work called *Siddhiviniścaya* is also ascribed to Akalanka[81]

Haribhadra the great Śvetāmbara savant, was undoubtedly one of the greatest thinkers of the 8th century He was not only a successful literary artist, but also, as Udyotana asserts, an authority on logic Udyotana claims that he was taught logic by Haribhadra, and this information practically settles the date of Haribhadra. The *Kuvalayamālā*, from which this information has been obtained, was completed in Śaka 700 The earliest writer, who quotes from Haribhadra is the Buddhist Śāntaraksita, who in his *Tattvasangraha* (8th century) ascribes the verse to an Ācārya Sūri, who is no other than Haribhadra[82]

Haribhadra, as we have already said in a previous chapter, wrote in both Sanskrit and Prakrit Being himself a Brāhmana by birth, he was thoroughly well-acquainted with the Brāhmanical works of philosophy His well-known commentary on Dinnāga's *Nyāyapraveśa*[83] proves that he was equally at home with the Buddhist logic As a matter of fact, because of Haribhadra's commentary this great work of the celebrated Dinnāga, has survived in Sanskrit His other works are only available in translations Another well-known work of Haribhadra is the *Anekāntajayapatākā*[84] It has altogether four chapters in which he refutes the doctrines of Buddhist and Brāhmanical schools. Since he refers to Mallavādin in this work, it appears, that it is one of his latest works[85] The *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*[86], a summary of the six philosophical systems in 87 verses, is the first

work dealing with the six philosophical systems viz Bauddha, Nyāya, Sāmkhya, Jaina, Vaiśeṣika, and Jaimini There is a short section on Cārvāka s philosophy Haribhadra emphatically says that Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika cannot be separated from one another, although he treats them separately There is no discussion on the Yoga and Vedānta systems Haribhadra, unlike many orthodox Jain philosophers, have discussed other systems with some amount of impartiality In another work called *Lokatattvanirnaya*[87], a work written in chaste Sanskrit, he shows his scholarship and depth of feeling The works like *Yogabindu*[88], *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya*[89] and *Dharmabindu*[90] are written primarily for the Jains The *Yogabindu* has 526 verses the *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya* shows has depth as philosopher The *Dharmabindu* has 8 chapters and has a commentary by Municandra This work is a manual of morals and asceticism The author deals with the duties of both layman and monk In the last few verses of this work he describes the bliss of the perfect soul in Nirvāṇa As Winternitz remarks "the title 'Drop of the Religion' is an expression of modesty As the drop of water is to the ocean, so is this work to the religion of the Jinas"[91] Another text dealing with doctrinal matters is the *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya*[92] Here also he has referred to the views of Buddhist logicians The *Lalitavistarā*[93], is said to have been composed for Siddharṣi[94], the author of the *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā*, which is impossible Siddharṣi, as we have already seen in a previous chapter, flourished long after Haribhadra Another interesting work of Haribhadra is the *Upadeśapada*[95], which is written in Prakrit and has a commentary by Municandra

Another Jain logician of the 8th century was Mallavādin who wrote a commentary called *Dharmottaraṭippanaka*[96] on the *Nyāyabindu* of Buddhist Dharmakīrti This Mallavādin seems to be identical with his namesake mentioned in the Surat plates of Karka (821 A D)[97] and described as the grand-preceptor of Aparājita, the donee of the grant If this is accepted, we have to assign Mallavādin in the first half of the 8th century and therefore it is not surprising that he is mentioned by Haribhadra, as noted above It should also be remembered that the Śvetām-

bara tradition makes him a nephew of the last Śilāditya of Valabhī (2nd half of the 8th century)

Vidyānanda, who lived in the 9th century, was a well-known logician of the early mediaeval period According to a later writer[98] he was a resident of Pāṭaliputra He was also known as Pātrakesari In the colophons of several of his works a number of Western Ganga kings ruling in the later part of the 8th century and the first half of the 9th century are mentioned[99] This shows that he lived around 800 A D Further, in his *Aṣṭasahasrī*[100] he admits that he was greatly helped by the advice of Kumārasena, who may be identical with the saint of the same name, mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa*[101] of Jinasena II (783 A D) We should also remember that Vidyānanda-Pātrakesari is also mentioned by Jinasena I in his *Ādipurāṇa*[102].

The principal work of Vidyānanda is the *Āptamīmāṁsālaṁkṛti*[103] also called *Aṣṭaśatībhāṣya* and *Aṣṭasahasrī* It contains an elaborate exposition of various logical principles In the opening and closing lines of this text he makes an indirect reference to Samantabhadra and Akalanka respectively In chapter X he openly says that he followed the *Aṣṭaśatī* of Akalanka in explaining the *Āptamīmāṁsā* Another important work of Vidyānanda is the *Āptaparīkṣā*[104], which consists of 124 verses is generally based on the *Āptaparīkṣā* The *Pramāṇaparīkṣā*[105] is a work in Sanskrit prose and it is definitely a contribution to Jain logic The *Ślokavārttika*[106] is a commentary on Umāsvāti s famous work Vidyānanda shows his thorough acquaintance with almost all Buddhist and Brāhmanical logicians His other works include *Satyaśāsanaparīkṣā*[107] and *Vidyānandamahodaya*[108] In the former Vidyānanda has made an examination of Indian philosophical systems

Māṇikyanandi is the author of the *Parīkṣāmukhasūtra*[109] which has 207 Sūtras and is based on Akalanka's *Nyāyaviniścaya* It has a commentary by Prabhācandra called *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa*[110] Vidyānanda, Māṇikyanandi and Prabhācandra are pronounced as contemporaries by K B Pathak[111] But in the printed edition of the *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa,* we are told, that Prabhācandra, the disciple of Padmanandi Siddhānta composed it during the reign of Bhoja of Dhārā[112] But this is quite

puzzling as Jinasena I in his *Ādipurāna* mentions *Candrodaya* as the work of Prabhācandra and actually in his *Nyāyakumunda-candrodaya* Prabhācandra claims that he is also the author of the *Prameyakamalamārtanḍa*[113] It therefore appears, and as suggested by Mukhtar[114] that the printed edition has referred to a commentator, bearing the same name Let us further remember that in the Jain literature there are no less than 20 Prabhā-candras[115] The *Prameyakamalamārtanda* refers to a number of Buddhist logicians including Dharmakīrti, Dinnāga and others Amrtacandra, who lived around 900 A D is the author of the *Tattvārthasāra*[116] and *Ātmakhyāti*[117] The *Tattvārthasāra* has 618 verses and is divided into nine chapters The seven *padārthas* are discussed in this work The *Ātmakhyāti* is the name of the author's commentary on *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda

Two great Śvetāmbara logicians flourished in the last quarter of the 10th century One was Pradyumnasūri of Rājagaccha, who was eleventh in descent from Mānikyacandra, the author of the *Pārsvanāthacaritra* (1219 A D) So we have to place Pradyumna in the 3rd quarter of the 10th century In the *Pārsvanāthacaritra* we are told that Pradyumna defeated the Digambaras in debate at Venkapatta[118] His disciple Abhayadeva, who flourished around 1000 A D , is the author of the *vrtti*[119] on *Sammatimahā-tarka* of Siddhasena Divākara His another work is *Vāda-mahārnava*[120], which is not available at present, but which is repeatedly mentioned by the writers of the Rājagaccha "He is described as the lion that roared at ease in the wild forest of books on logic That the rivers of various conflicting opinions might not sweep the path of the good, Abhayadeva wrote his *Vādamahārnava* '[121]

The above discussion shows that a great number of Jain thinkers of both the sects wrote philosophical and logical texts and enriched the ancient Indian philosophical literature by their solid contributions Even in the later medieval period Jain metaphysicans and logicians continued to write thought-provoking texts, which will be discussed in the next volume of the present work

NOTES

1 Edited by J L Jaini, Arrah 1920 for other editions see Winternitz, *H I L*, Vol II, p 578 fn 3

2 *A History of Indian Logic* Calcutta, p 168

3 This *Bhāsya* is included in the edition published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (1903-05)

4 See in this connexion J P Jain, *Jain Sources* etc, p 135

5 As noted by Sukhlal (English translation of his Hindi work on *Tattvārthasūtra*), p 21 even Jacobi (*Z D M G*, Vol 60, pp 287 ff) accepts the authenticity of this *Bhāsya* see also p 34 of Sukhlal's work

6 See Hoernle in *I A* Vol XX 1891 p 391

7 See J P Jain, *op cit*, p 136

8 As noted by Sukhlal, *op cit* p 114 the earliest epigraph referring to Umāsvāti as belonging to the *anvaya* of Kundakunda is No 47 dated Śaka 1047 from Śravana Belgola Premi also does not believe that Umāsvāti has anything to do with Kundakunda see Sukhlal, pp 111 ff Elsewhere Premi has tried to show that Umāsvāti was probably a monk belonging to the Yāpanīya Sangha, see *Jaina Sāhitya aur itihāsa* pp 533 ff, which is clearly untenable

9 See Vidyabhusan, *op cit* p 182

10 See Winternitz *op cit* p 581

11 See his 'Svāmī Samantabhadra' in Hindi included in his edition of the *Ratnakarandakasrāvakācāra* (*M D J M*, No 24) pp 212 ff

12 P 69

13 See *J S B I* Vol IV p 60

14 See his Introduction to *Pravacanasūra*, Bombay, 1935 p XVIII

15 These *Pāhudas* are edited by P L Soni in *M D J M* (No 17) Series V S 1977 Of these, with the exception of *Linga* and *Silapāhudas* all others have commentaries by Śrutasāgara

16 Upadhye *op cit* p XXXVII

17 This text is included in the M D J M (No 17) edition which includes the *Pahudlas*

18 See his Introduction to *Pravacanasāra*, p XXXIX

19 Included in the *M D J M* No 17 edition

20 See Upadhye, *op cit* p XXXIX footnote

21 *Ibid* p XXI

22 Kolhapur edition, pp 90 f

23 Edited by Jaina Grantharatnākara Kāryālaya, Bombay 1916

24 See Jain, J C, *Prakrit Sahitya kā itihāsa*, p 300

25 Edited in *Sacred Books of the Jains* series, Vol III by Prof A Chakravarti, Arrah, 1920, for other editions of this text see Upadhye, *op cit*, p XLII fn 4

26 Upadhye, *op cit* p XLIV

27 Edited by J L. Jaini in *S B J*, Vol VIII, Lucknow, 1930 for other editions, see Upadhye, *op cit*, p XLV fn 1

28 Edited A N Upadhye, Bombay, 1935

29 *Ibid*, pp XIX, XXII

30 See *Epigraphia Carnatica* (revised ed) 1972 Vol I, Introduction, pp X f

31 P 24

32 Cf *Jainendra* V 4 140

33 For details see Desai, *Jainism in South India* etc, pp 152 ff

34 See the life of Samantabhadra in Hindi by Jugalkishore Mukhtar included in his edition of the *Ratnakarndakaśrāvakācāra*, p 4

35 *Ibid*, pp 5 ff

36 Edited in Bhāratīya Jñānapītha Varanasi 1974, p 13

37 *Ibid*, p 14

38 V 4 140

39 See Jain, *Jain Sources etc*, p 145

40 On the date of Samantabhadra see K B Pathak in *A B O R I*, Vol XI 1930, pp 149 ff, Pandit Jugalkishore Mukhtar in the same journal, Vol XV, pp 67 ff refutes the view of Pathak

41 Edn in Jain Grantha Ratnākara and Sanātana Jaina Granthamālā 1905 for some more details on this see Mukhtar *op cit* pp 197 ff

42 Vidyabhusan, *op cit* pp 182 ff

43 See Mukhtar *op cit*, pp 201 f

43A Text edited with Vidyānanda's commentary in *M D J M*, No 15

44 See Mukhtar *op cit* p 202

45 For this text see Mukhtar, *op cit* pp 203 f

46 *Ibid* pp 204 f

47 *M D J M*, No 24 (edited by Jugalkishore Mukhtar) Bombay, Vikrama Samvat 1982 The commentary by Prabhācandra is also included in this edition

48 See Mukhtar *op cit*, *Prastāvanā*, pp 53 ff

49 For the relevant verses from the *Pārśvanāthacarita* see Mukhtar, *op cit* p 11

50 See the edition of Mukhtar p 100 see also his *Life* of Samantabhadra in the same work p 205

51 Mukhtar's *Prastāvanā*, pp 10-11

52 See Mukhtar's *Life* pp 19, 21

53 *Ibid*, pp 19 ff

54 See Vidyabhusan, *op cit*, pp 173 f, see also J P Jain, *op cit*, p 150

55 V 1 7

56 Edited with English translation by S C Vidyabhusan, Calcutta, 1909

57 Edited in Yasovijaya Jaina Granthamālā, No 13 another ed, Poona 1926

58 For further discussion, Vidyabhusan *op cit*, pp 174 ff

59 The commentary *Tattvānusārini Tattvārthaṭīkā* was printed in Ahmedabad

60 See Vidyabhusan, *op cit*, p 182, set also Winternitz, *op cit*, p 580 fn 1

61 Vol I, p 380

62 For details see *Prabandhakosa*, pp 15 ff, see also *Vividha-tīrthakalpa*, p 88

63 Set Mukhtar quoted in Premi s *Jaina Sāhitya aur itihāsa*, p 42

64 Edited Kolhapur, 1904, see also Jacobi, *Z D M G*, Vol 60, p 290

65 See J P Jain, *op cit*, p 172 fn 1

66 See Hiralal, *Catalogue* Introduction, p 26

67 See *supra*, p 188

68 See *E C*, Vol II, Introd pp 48 ff, see Fleet, *Dynasties* etc, pp 32 33, and J P Jain *Jain Sources etc*, p 172

69 See *supra* p 202

70 See in this connexion *Life* of Samantabhadra by Mukhtar, p 125 where the relevant verse from the *Akalankacarita* has been quoted

71 See in this connexion, J P Jain *op cit*, p 177

72 See the same scholar in *J U P H S*, Vol III (N S) Part II, pp 108-125

73 Edited in Sanātana Jaina Granthamālā, Varanasi, 1915

74 This commentary is published with *Āptamīmāmsā* in Sanātana Jaina Granthamālā, No 10 Varanasi, 1914

75 *Jinaratnakosa* p 221

76 These two works are edited in *M D J M*, No 1 The *Laghiyas-trayiprakarana* is a work containing 78 *Kārikās*, divisible into three chapters on *Pramāna Naya* and *Āgama* which give it the name *Laghiya-strayi* This work is also edited in Singhi Jaina Series, No 12, Ahmedabad, 1939 According to some others *Svārūpasambodhana* was written by Mahāsena pupil of Nayasena, for details see *Jinaratnakośa*, p 458

77 Edited in *M D J M*, No 18, Bombay V S 1978

78 See Introd. by Hiralal to his Catalogue p XXVI

79 See *Jinaratnakośa*, p 279

80 Singhi Jaina Granthamālā, Ahmedabad, 1939

81 See *Jinaratnakosa*, p 441

82 See Gaekwad Oriental Series, Vol 30, Introd, p lxxv

83 Edited in *G O S* by A B Dhruva, Baroda, 1930 In this edition of the *Nyāyapraveśa* both the commentaries of Haribhadra and Candrasūri have been included

84 Published in Yaśovijayaji Jaina Granthamālā, No 40, Vira Samvat 2436-2439

85 Since J P Jain, *Jain Sources* etc, p 191 and footnote 4

86 This text has several editions the earliest one is published with Gunaratna s commentary in the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1905, for other editions see *Jinaratnakosa,* p 402

87 This text, which has 145 verses was published from Bhavnagar V S 1958 an Italiar translation was published by L Suali in Florence, 1905

88 Edited by L Suali, Bhavnagar 1911

89 Edited by L Suali from Bombay, 1913

90 Edited by L Suali, Calcutta 1912 for other editions see *Jinaratnakośa,* p 191

91 See *H I L* Vol II p 584 fn 3

92 Bombay 1913

93 This work is published with the *Caityavandanāsūtra* from Bombay 1915

94 See *Jinaratnakosa* p 125

95 Edited Palitana, 1909 also Baroda Vira Samvat, 2449

96 Edited Stcherbatsky St Petersburg, 1909 For details see Vidyabhusan *op cit* pp 194 f also *Vienna Oriental Journal,* IV, p 67

97 See *supra* p 161

98 Brahmanemidatta in his *Kathākośa* quoted by Vidyabhusan, *op cit* p 188

99 See J P Jain in *Anekānta* Vol X pp 274 288 see also *Jain Sources* etc, pp 199 200

100 Colophon, verse 3 quoted in J P Jain *op cit,* p 199 fn 3

101 I 38

102 Quoted by K B Pathak in *J B B R A S* 1892, p 222

103 Edited along with the *Āptamīmāmsā* by N R Gandhi, Bombay, 1915

104 Edited Varanasi 1913

105 Varanasi, 1914

106 Edited along with the original text of Umāsvati by M I Sastri 1918

107 See *Jinaratnakosa,* p 412

108 *Ibid* p 355

109 Bombay, 1927 see also *Jinaratnakosa* pp 238-39

110 Published along with the Bombay edition of the *Pariksāmukhasūtra* another edition, Varanasi, 1928

111 See *J B B R A S,* 1892, pp 227, 229

112 The relevant lines are quoted by Mukhtar in his Hindi Introd to Samantabhadra s *Ratnakarandakaśrāvakācāra* p 59 See also Winternitz, *op cit*, Vol II, p 282 and footnote 6

113 See Winternitz, *loc cit*

114 Mukhtar, *op cit*, p 60

115 *Ibid*, pp 57 ff

116 Bombay 1905

117 See *Jinaratnakosa*, p 26
118 See Vidyabhusan, *op cit*, p. 196 fn 2
119 Ahmedabad, V S 1980-84 with the original text of Divākara
120 See *Jinaratnakośa*, p 348
121 See Vidyabhusan, *op cit*, pp 196 f

APPENDIX A

Ājīvikism and Gosāla

In the third chapter of the present work we discussed briefly the career of the Ājīvika philosopher Mokkhaliputta Gośāla In this Appendix we will try to give a connected account of the origin of the Ājīvika religion and also of the principal events of the life of Gośāla, who like Lord Mahāvīra, was not the founder of his sect In this connection we will endeavour to correlate the evidences supplied by the Pāli and Jain texts on Ājīvikism and Gośāla

It is apparent from the Pāli texts that Ājīvikism was a living religion during the days of Buddha The first Ājīvika whom Buddha met in his career was Upaka [1] The story of ot this meeting is told in the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*[2] and it appears to be one of the oldest parts of the Pāli canon We are told here that Buddha had met this Ājīvika teacher immediately after his enlightenment, apparently near Gayā Buddha was in his 36th year and according to our calculations this event took place in the 3rd quarter (or in the beginning of the 4th) of the sixth century B C It is interesting to note that the Ājīvika Upaka was in no mood to accept Buddha's claim that he was a *Jina* and left him quite coldly This story is also repeated in a few other places of the Pāli canon [3] Later Pāli commentators have given the romantic story of his marriage with one Cāpā and even affirm that he was converted to Buddhism in the later part of his life [4] There is little doubt that the later stories were invented in order to show Buddha's greatness, in the original canon there is no indication that Upaka ever changed his faith

We have already said that Buddha was a senior contemporary of Mahāvīra[5] and therefore Upaka should also be regarded as a senior contemporary of Gośāla, who according to the

Bhagavatī declared himself a *Jina* in the 6th year of Lord Mahāvīra's wanderings, or in other words, in Mahāvīra's 36th year This suggests that the monks belonging to the Ājīvika religion wandered in Northern India before Gośāla, a conclusion which is strongly supported by the facts told about them in other places of Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī texts

The Pāli texts repeatedly refer to the Ājīvikas, but never represent Gośāla as the founder of the sect Several teachers like Nanda Vaccha,[6] Kisa Sankicca[7] and Paṇḍuputta[8] are mentioned in the Pāli canon and it appears that at least the first two viz Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Sankicca were looked upon as important personalities in the days of Buddha Pūrana Kassapa, who was one of the six great rivals of Buddha, had a great deference for these two teachers and also Gośāla[9], as he includes them in the 6th or the purest type (*parama-sukhābhijātas*) of men Elsewhere Buddha[10] declares that although the Ājīvikas had *existed for a long time,*[11] they had only produced three distinguished teachers viz Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Sankicca and Mokkhali Gosāla This definitely shows that Ājīvikism is older than Buddhism and Gośāla was only one of the "distinguished teachers' of this religious sect

The *Bhagavatīsūtra*, which is universally regarded as one of the oldest Jain canonical texts, also directly confirm the evidence of the Pāli canon regarding the antiquity of the Ājīvika religion When challenged by Mahāvīra in Śrāvastī he declares that he is actually the 8th Ājīvika teacher and the first seven were the following—Udāi Kumdiyāyaṇa, Eneijja, Mallarāma, Maṇḍiya, Roha, Bhāradvāja and lastly Ajjuna Goyamaputta [12] Basham, who has made a special study of the Ājīvika religion, remarks[13] in this connexion that the immediate predecessor of Gośāla viz Ajjuna Goyamaputta is distinguished by a *gotra* name or patronymic as Udāi Kumdiyāyaṇa, in whose body the migrant soul of Gośāla was originally born" He further notes that other five names have not been given any patronymics From this he comes to the conclusion that the 1st and the 7th were "real" persons, and not figures of imagination This is indeed a very strange logic! There is really no need for the Jain writer of the *Bhagavatī* to give the

gotra names of all the predecessors of Gośāla in a passage, which was apparently written in haste and with the avowed intention to discredit the Ājivika religion The list of the seven predecessors of Gośāla should either be accepted in entirety or be summarily dismissed Since the list occurs in a work, written by the stunch enemies of the Ājīvika religion, we have to accept it as genuine Further, the Jain writer has also given, as noted by B M Barua,[14] the geographical centres of activities of all the seven predecessors of Gośāla, including the period of their missionary life The earliest teacher viz. Udāi Kumdiyāyana was associated with the city of Rājagṛha and had preached for 22 years This suggests that Udāi Kumdiyāyana was probably the founder of Ājīvikism and the celebrated Rājagrha, the earlier capital of Magadha was the first centre of this new religion Since the Ājīvikas went about naked, it is natural for them to choose a hilly place like Rājagrha where they could easily get natural shelters The next teacher was Enejja, who was associated with the town of Uddandapura (identification uncertain, but should be in eastern India) and had preached for 21 years The third teacher of this sect was one Mallarāma, who spent his life at Campā and taught the principles of the Ājīvika religion for 20 years The 4th prophet was Mandiva, who was associated with the famous city of Vārānasī in which the celebrated Pārsvanātha was born The missionary life of this gentleman covered a total period of 19 years The 5th teacher of this sect was one Roha, who preached at the town of Ālabhivā (Ālavī of the Pāli texts), which was not far from Śrāvastī,[15] taught for 18 years Then came one Bhāradvāja, who belonged to the city of Śrāvastī and preached for 17 years His successor was Ajjuna Goyamaputta, apparently of the same city, whose missionary life covered a period of 16 years

A discerning reader of this passage will not fail to notice two special features regarding the list of the seven predecessors of Gośāla The first, of course, is the progressive diminution by one year of the period of each reanimation and the second, which is more significant, is the gradual westward migration of this religion In course of 133 years the Ājīvika religion

gradually spread from Rājagṛha to Śrāvastī, a distance of nearly 300 miles The progressive diminution of exactly one year seems somewhat artificial, but this cannot be the basis of the entire rejection of the complete list The *Bhagavatī* passage indicates that the religion of the Ājīvikas was founded in the beginning of the 7th century B C, probably 100 years after Pārsvanātha Thus from point of chronology, Ājīvikism stands midway between Jainism and Buddhism

Barua is of the view that the Ājīvikas even existed in the post-Vedic period,[16] which can, however, be rejected offhand In no Vedic text there is even the remotest mention of the Ājīvika religion It is also interesting to note, that like Buddhism and Jainism, the Ājīvika religion has been totally ignored in the two Indian epics, even in their latest sections There is also no basis for V S Agrawala's surmise[17] that Ājīvikism was known to Pāṇini

Basham is of the opinion that Pūrana Kassapa, one of the six great rivals of Buddha, was an Ājīvika teacher[18] In support of his surmise he quotes from the Tamil poem *Nīlakeśī* It is true that according to the malicious account,[19] left by Buddhaghoṣa, Pūraṇa went about naked But in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*[20] of the *Dīgha Nikāya* a clear distinction has been made between the doctrine of Gośāla and that of Kassapa That Buddhaghoṣa was thoroughly biased is proved by the fact that he represents Pūrana as a slave, which is clearly wrong, as Kassapa is a Brahmin *gotra* But it is quite likely that Gosāla and Pūrana had some respect for each other as the latter is represented in the *Anguttara Nikāya* as praising the three important Ājīvika teachers, a point which has already been noted

Let us now try to have a close and hard look at the personality and career of Gośāla, probably the most controversial and enigmatic figure in the history of Indian philosophy We should never forget that the texts, which deal with him, were all written by arch-enemies of the Ājīvikas, namely the Jains and Buddhists Yet the life of this Ājīvika teacher, as painted in the *Bhagavatī*, the 5th Anga text of the Jains, is the only available source regarding his career The references to him and the Ājīvikas in the Pāli *Tripiṭaka* often help us, but they are

only incidental notices The *Bhagavatī*[21] represents Gośāla as the son of one Mankhali by his spouse Bhadrā This work further tells us that this Mankhali was a *mankha* which means a royal bard[22] It appears from the *Bhagavatī* that Mankhali, the father of Gosāla was a poor, wandering poet or bard, who earned his livelihood by singing old, heroic ballads and exhibiting pictures (*cittaphalaga*) connected with his songs The boy Gośāla was born in the cow-stall (*gośāla*) of a rich Brāhmaṇa called Gobahula, who was a resident of a village called Śaravana. That Makkhali was born in a cow-shed is also attested to by Buddhaghosa[23] in his *Sumangalavilāsinī* and *Papañcasūdanī* That writer also paints him as a servant of a rich man, and tells a ridiculous story to explain his name *makkhali*, however, the Jains do not confirm this story and, as we have already pointed out, a similar story is told by Buddhaghoṣa, that diehard Buddhist, regarding Pūrana Kassapa

It appears from the *Bhagavatī* that Gosāla, after attaining manhood, accepted the professional life of his father It further appears that from the very beginning of his career he developed some sort of repugnance against worldly life When he met Mahāvīra at Nālandā near Rājagrha for the first time, he was already a recluse According to the writer of the *Bhagavatī*[24] Mahāvīra at first turned down Gosāla's request to make him his disciple. But afterwards accepted his second request at a place called Kollāga near Nālandā, and this event according to the *Bhagavatī* took place in the 2nd year of Mahāvīra's wanderings The two naked ascetics spent six years together and a detailed description of their wanderings has been given by Jinadāsa Mahattara[25], who flourished in the 7th century and needless to say, his account is largely based on imagination

The *Bhagavatī* informs us that as a result of doctrinal difference Gosāla left Mahāvīra after six years and declared himself a *Jina* at Śrāvastī But Mahāvīra had to wait for another six years for attaining the stage of perfection Now, it is known to all students of religious history, that no religious leader (ancient or modern) in India has any respect for his opponent Buddha looked upon Mahāvīra with contempt[26] This is proved by Buddha's utterances regarding Mahāvīra after his

death. Therefore we cannot expect the canonical writer of the *Bhagavatī* to accept Gośāla's claim of Jinahood before Mahāvīra. Had any Ājīvika canonical text survived, we would have come across similar refution of Mahāvīra's claim of attaining *kevalajñāna*. In the absence of such a text, the historian has no other alternative but to accept the fact that Gośāla became a *Jina*, at a time, when Mahāvīra was a mere learner. Further, nowhere in the Pāli canon Gosāla is represented as a pupil of Nāthaputta. It appears that the two teachers were good friends in their early career and because of serious doctrinal difference they not only parted company, but also developed deadly hatred against each other. We agree with Basham[27] when he declares that the *Bhagavatī* account is pervaded by deadly sectarian prejudice.

Gośāla was apparently in his late thirties when he established his own headquarters in Śrāvasti at the residence of the wealthy female potter Hālāhalā. He was recognised, as is evident from the *Bhagavatī*[28], as the head of the Ājīvikasangha, which was established, as we have already noticed quite a few years earlier in that city by Bhāradvāja, the 6th Ājīvika teacher. Gosāla, it appears, not only succeeded in enlarging his circle of disciples in that city, but also converted quite a few important personalities of other places to his doctrine. One such person, according to the *Cullavagga*, was a highly official (*mahāmatta*). The *Vinaya Piṭaka* elsewhere[30] refers to a blood-relation of king Bimbisāra as embracing the Ājīvika religion and becoming a recluse of that Sangha. These two examples definitely prove the popularity of the Ājīvika religion among the aristocracy of those days. Probably such conversions of high officials to the religion of the Ājīvikas was not liked by Buddha, and this explains his outburts against Gosāla and his teachings. One such outburst is recorded in the *Anguttara Nikāya*[31] where Buddha calls the doctrine of Gośāla the 'meanest doctrine' and he is branded as a *moghapurisa*, which means a 'stupid fellow'. It is interesting to note that only Gośāla receives this epithet in the Pāli canon. But Gośāla not only succeeded in popularising his religion in different parts of Madhya-deśa and eastern India before long, but was also able

to produce a number of remarkable Ājīvika teachers before his death

The account of Gośāla's final meeting with Mahāvīra, as recorded in the *Bhagavatī*, deserves a close scrutiny We are told that this meeting took place in the 24th years of Gośāla's ascetic-life, and 16 years before Mahāvīra's death The place of this fateful meeting was the Koṣṭhaka shrine of the city of Śrāvastī[32] Here we find Mahāvīra at first ridiculing Gośāla's claim that he was in possession of perfect knowledge Gośāla simply denies that he was ever a disciple of Mahāvīra, and asserts, as we have already noted, that he is the 8th prophet of the Ājīvika religion One of Mahāvīra's disciples called Sunakṣatra, who tried to argue on behalf of his *guru* was consumed by Gośāla's *tejoleśyā* (anger) Lord Mahāvīra too, became a victim of Gosāla's spiritual power and the meeting ended abruptly We are told that the debate was inconclusive and Mahāvīra, as is apparent from a passage of the text, did not succeed in his attempt to destroy the Ājīvika organisation of Śrāvastī However, the *Bhagavatī* represents Gośāla as dying shortly after the meeting in Śrāvastī There is little doubt that the account of Gośāla's death is highly exaggerated And it is probable that his untimely demise promted the Jain canonical writer to devise this story

That the account of his death is not based on facts will be clear from the contradictory and unhistorical statements in the account itself We have already noted, that according to this account Gosāla died 16 years before the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra Yet in another passage we are told that the death of Gośāla coincided with the Mahāśilākantaka war[33], which as we know from another passage of the *Bhagavatī*[34], was fought between Ajātaśatru on the one hand, and Nine Mallas and nine Licchavis on the other Now, we definitely know that Ajātaśatru became king 8 years before Buddha's death, and less than 8 years before Mahāvīra's demise Therefore, Gośāla, who according to the *Bhagavatī* died 16 years before Mahāvīra, was not alive when Kūnika Ajātaśatru ascended the Magadhan throne and the passage which affirms that his death coincided with that famous war must be dismissed as a piece of poetic fancy The same remark applies to another list of eight finalities, which coincided

with Gośāla's death, viz the last sprinkling-scent elephant (*gandhahastī*), which according to the *Nirayavalikā* was the cause of dispute between Cetaka and Ajātaśatru

From the *Nanguṭṭha Jātaka*[35] we learn that there was a group of Ājīvika ascetics living near Jetavana in Srāvastī, who were in the habit of performing difficult penances That the Ājīvikas were respected for their austere life is clear from a number of passages in the Pāli canon In an identical passage, preserved in the *Majjhima*[36] and *Samyutta*[37], Gośāla is praised by a *deva* for his perfect self-control He is further delineated there as a speaker of truth and doer of no evil Elsewhere in a Vinaya passage[38] we find the Ājīvikas condemning Buddhist monks for carrying parasols These evidences strongly suggest that the Ājīvikas were respected for their strict and austere living

It is surprising that the Ājīvikas, who could lead such an austere life should hold fatalistic views regarding life and nature Their teaching as represented in the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* deny action (*kiriya*) endeavour (*viriya*) and result of action (*kamma*) According to Gosāla all beings attain perfection through *samsāra-śuddhi* We can understand why Buddha could not tolerate the Ājīvikas, who were against all his ideas and ideals "Like a fish-trap set at river-mouth, Makkhali was born into the world to be a man-trap for the distress and destruction of men"[39], Buddha declared But in spite of such warnings, a number of respectable people of Buddha's own time chose this religion in preference to the teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīra

In several places of the Jain canon we finds references to Ājīvika devotees and the Ājīvika doctrines In the *Upāsakadaśā*[40] we have one Saddālaputta, who was a devotee of Gośāla Another lay devotee called Ayampula is mentioned in the *Bhagavatī*[41]

References in the later literature and epigraphs fully prove that Ājīvikisms survived upto the late mediaeval period The inscriptions of Aśoka and his successor prove that the Ājīvikas were held in esteem in the Mauryan period In the 7th Pillar Edict[42] they are mentioned after the Bauddhas and Brāhmaṇas, but before the Nirgranthas In the Barabar Hill cave (Gayā

district, Bihar) have been discovered inscriptions according to which Asoka made a gift of several caves to the Ājīvikas in his 12th and 19th regnal years Asoka's grandson Daśaratha was surely a patron of the Ājīvika religion We have three short inscriptions[43] of this emperor in the Nāgārjuni Hill (Gayā district, Bihar) according to which he made gifts of cave-dwellings to the Ājīvikas

In the *Arthaśāstra* (III 20) of Kauṭilya and in the *Mahābhāṣya* (III 96) of Patañjali the Ājīvikas are mentioned In the latter work, Patañjali the author, shows his acquaintance with the principal doctrine of the Ājīvikas Patañjali distinctly says that the Ājīvikas deny the freedom of the will The *Mahāvamsa* (X 102) informs us that the Ājīvikas could be seen in Ceylon during the reign of Pāṇḍukābhaya, who ruled in the 4th century B C This proves that after the death of Gośāla Ājīvikism penetrated into Southern India including Ceylon This is proved by the references to the Ājīvikas in the Tamil Sangam literature In a 5th century inscription[44] found from Nellore district (Andhra) of the reign of Simhavarman Pallava there is a reference to the Ājīvikas, which shows that monks belonging to this sect flourished in this part of India at that time Varāhamihira (early 6th century) and his commentator Utpala (10th century) know the Ājīvikas[45] On a basis of wrong statement of Utpala, D R Bhandarkar[46] came to the conclusion that, in the later days, the Ājīvikas weare identical with Vaisnavas But as Basham[47] has shown, this theory is purely speculative The Ājīvikas were also known to Kumāradāsa[48] as is evident from his *Jānakīharana*, which was composed probably during the closing years of the 7th century[49] There are references to them in several South Indian inscriptions of a much later period. However by 1200 A D, they disappeared completely from history[50]

NOTES

1 For details see Malalasekera, *D P P N*, Vol I, pp 385 f

2 *Majjhima*, Vol I, pp 160-175, see also Malalasekera, *op cit*, Vol I, pp 179-80

3 See *Jātaka*, I 81 ; *Mahāvagga* (trans I B Horner), p 11

4 See Malalasekera, *op. cit*, Vol I, p 662, the *theri Cāpā* is mentioned in the *Therīgāthā* (see Nālandā edition *Khuddaka Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp 441-443), but there the name of Upaka is conspicuously absent

5 See *supra*, p 31 fn 3

6 See Malalasekera, *op cit*, Vol II, p 14

7 *Ibid*, Vol I, p 609

8 *Ibid*, Vol II, p 123

9 See *Anguttara*, Vol III (translation), p 273

10 See *Majjhima, Sandakasutta* (No 76), see also Malalasekera, *op cit*, Vol II, p 14, see also Hindi translation published by Mahābodhi Sabhā, p. 307

11 Italics ours

12 *Bhagavatī* (Sailana edition), Vol V, pp 2425-26

13 *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, London, 1951 p 32

14 See *J D L*, Vol II, p 5

15 See *D P P N*, Vol I, p 295

16 See *A B O R I* Vol 8, pp 183-84

17 See the Hindi translation of his work entitled *Pāninikālin Bhāratavarsa*, p 370

18 Basham, *op cit*, pp 80 ff

19 See *Sumangavilāsinī*, Vol I, p 142

20 *Dīgha*, No 2

21 Vol V, p 2373

22 See M M Williams, *S E D*, p 772

23 See *Sumangalavilāsinī*, Vol I, pp 143 f and *Pañcasudanī*, Vol I, p 422, see also Malalasekera, *op cit*, Vol II, p 400

24 Vol V, p 2381

25 See *Āvaśyakacūrnī*, Vol I, pp 271, 282-84, 287-299

26 See *Majjhima*, Vol II, pp, 243f, *Dīgha*, pp 117, 210

27 Basham, *op cit*, p 66

28 Vol V, p 2369

29 Nālandā edition, p 260

30 See Nālandā ed *Pācittiya*, p 106

31 See Nālandā ed of *Anguttara*, Vol I, p 267

32 Vol V, p 2418

33 *Ibid*., p. 2444

34 *Ibid*, Vol III, pp 1190 ff

35 No 144

36 See Malalasekera, *D P P N*, Vol I, p 238 fn 1

37 *Loc cit*

38 *Loc cit*

39 Nālandā edition, *Anguttara*, Vol. I, p 267

40 Pp 114 ff (ed N A Gore, Poona, 1953)

41 Vol V, p 2449

42 See Buhler, *E I*, Vol II, pp 245 ff, see also Sircar, *Sel Ins* etc., pp 62 ff

43 See *I A*, Vol 20, p 364, Lüders, *List*, Nos 954-956, see also Sircar, *op cit*, pp 77 f

44 *E I*, Vol 24 pp 296 ff

45 See Basham *op cit*, pp 168 ff

46 See *I A*, Vol 41 pp 286-290

47 Basham, *op cit*, pp 173 ff

48 *Ibid*, pp 165 f

49 See Winternitz, *H I L*, Vol III Part I, p 81

50 Basham believes that the *nagnātakas*, who defiled Deva-temples during the region of Harsa of Kashmir (last quarter of the 11th century), were probably the Ājīvikas, see *op cit*, pp 205 ff, but this surmise seems to be entirely wrong

APPENDIX B

Early Jainism and Yakṣa Worship

The early Vedic texts show some acquaintance with supernatural 'beings' or 'spirits' called Yakṣas But compared with Rakṣas they are mentioned less freequently Unlike Rakṣas and Piśācas, the Yakṣas are depicted in the early and later Vedic literature as less dangerous and malignant, although they too, sometimes are conceived as pure evil spirits It is of great interest to note that Kubera, the leader of the Yakṣas of later literature, is delineated as the king (*rājan*) of Raksas and other evil-doers in such an old text as the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*[1] He is further called by his other name Vaiśravana in that text, A still earlier reference to him will be found in the *Atharvaveda*,[2] but there he is not connected with either the Yaksas or Rakṣas There are separate references[3] to the Yakṣas and Kubera in later Vedic literature, but Kubera as the king of the Yaksas appears only in the post-Vedic literature The term 'Yaksa' also appears in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmana*[4] as the name of an unexplained being But exactly at what time Kubera lost his position as the king of Rakṣas, it is not possible to say in the present state of our knowledge But there is little doubt that he came to be associated with Yaksas long before Mahāvīra and Buddha

From the epics we learn a great deal about Yaksas and some of their prominent leaders In both the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* the Yaksas, unlike other supernatural beings, appear as demi-gods The interesting story told bout the struggle of the Yaksas led by Kubera, and Raksas led by his younger broher Rāvana in the Uttarakānda[5] of the *Rāmāyana* shows that by the time that portion of the epic was composed, the Yaksas were looked upon as somewhat benevolent beings, We should particularly take note of the epithet *mahātman* applied to Manibhadra and Kubera in that Book of the *Rāmāyana*[6] The famous

Yakṣa-Yudhiṣṭhira story told in the *Mahābhārata*,[7] also proves that the poet of that part of the great epic had real deference for Yakṣas. Another point that will have to be noted in this connexion that Kubera or Vaiśravaṇa, the lord of the Yakṣas in the epics, is conceived not only as an honourable member of the Brāhmanical pantheon but also as one of the four Lokapālas We are told in the Uttarakāṇḍa[8] that formerly there were three Lokapālas and that Kubera or Vaiśravana was installed as the fourth Lokapāla by Brahman after the former satisfied the latter by his penances There is no doubt that Kubera was either a Raksa or Yaksa before he was accepted in thi Indian pantheon and his elevation supports our contention that in the period of the composition of the epics, Yakṣas had their regular devotees among the local population, and this will be confirmed by our present discussion

In the literature of both the Jains and Buddhists the Yaksas play a very important role But the early Jain canonical writers, even more than their Buddhist counter-parts, show a very intimate acquaintance not only with the Yaksas, but also disclose the names of innumerable Yaksa shrines of the Āryāvarta and Uttarāpatha Any one who is even superficially acquainted with the Angas and Upāngas know that one such Yakṣa shrine is mentioned almost in every *Sūtra* of these texts There was hardly a city or town which had not a Yakṣa *āyatana* or *caitya* We are giving below a list containing the names of some important shrines (majority of which were dedicated to Yaksas) in the Jain texts

Name of the city		*Name of the Shrine*
Vardhamānapura		Manibhadra
Kayamgalā	—	Chattapalāsa
Campā	—	Purṇabhadra and Angamandira
Vāniyagāma (a suburb of Vaiśālī)	—	Suhamma

Name of the city		*Name of the Shrine*
Vaiśālī	—	Bahuputtiyā and Komdiyāyana
Mithilā	—	Maṇibhadra
Ālabhiyā	—	Samkhavana and Pattakālaga
Vārānasī	—	Koṭṭhaga and Ambasālavana
Kauśāmbī	—	Camdotarana
Srāvasti	—	Koṭṭhaga
Mathurā	—	Sudarśana
Hastināpura	—	Sahasambavana
Dvārāvatī	—	Surapriya

This list is, by no means, exhaustive and it is not difficult to mention, at least, another one hundred such shrines situated in various parts of Northern and Eastern India

The Pāli Buddhist texts disclose the names of a good number of so-called Yakkha-cetiyas, most of which were situated in various parts of Eastern India In the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya,* quite a few shrines situated in the celebrated city of Vaiśāli or Vesālī, are mentioned. They are—Sārandada, Cāpāla, Udena, Gotamaka, Bahuputta and Sattamba From another Book of the *Dīgha Nikāya* viz *Pātika Suttanta* we further learn that Udena was situated to the east, Gotamaka to the south, Sattamba to the west and Bahuputta to the north of this city We have already seen that the shrine of Bahuputta is mentioned in the *Bhagavatī,*[9] the celebrated 5th Anga of the Jains from which we further learn that it was once visited by Mahāvīra. As a matter of fact, this is the only shrine that is mentioned both in the Jain and Buddhist texts. Another Bahuputta shrine was situated on the road between Rājagṛha and Nālandā, according to the *Samyutta Nikāya*[10] In this shrine Buddha exchanged robes with Mahākassapa We

have also seen that a few Yakṣa shrines of Ālabhiyā are mentioned in the Jain texts It is just possible that one of these Yakṣa shrines is repeatedly mentioned in the Pāli texts[11] as connected with the activities of Buddha and few of his disciples. The Pāli texts also disclose the names of a few other shrines of eastern India viz, Supatittha of Rājagṛha[12], Ānanda of Bhoganagara (in the Vajji territory)[13], Makuṭabandhana of the Mallas[14], and Ajakalāpa of Pātali or Pāvā[15]

It is, however, extremely doubtful whether all the *ceiyas* and *cetiyas or āyatanas* of the Jain and Buddhist texts were dedicated to the Yakṣas Let us first take up the case of the famous Bahuputta shrine situated in the northern part of Vaiśālī and which as we have already noted, was the only shrine of ancient India to be mentioned clearly in both the Ardha-māgadhi and Pāli canons There is reason to believe that this shrine was named after the goddess Bahuputtiyā, whose story is told so beautifully and humourously in the Upānga text the *Nirayavalika* We learn from the 4th Adhyayana of that Jain text that the goddess (and not a female Yaksa) Bahuputtiyā was intimately connected with the welfare of children We however cannot be sure on this point since another Bahuputtiyā is mentioned in the *Bhagavatī*[16], *Sthānānga*[17] and *Nāyādhammakahāo*[18] as the wife of Yaksa Pūrnabhadra The well-known Gotamaka shrine of the same city, was in all probability, not a Yakṣa temple We invite, in this connexion, the attention of readers to a few *ślokas* of the Sabāparvan[19] of the *Mahābhārata* where we come across the name of one Gautamauka temple of Rājagṛha which according to these verses was named after the Rṣi Gautama The Sanskrit word *gautamauka* is exactly the same as the Pāli *gotamaka* Since the temple of Gautamauka at Rājagṛha was dedicated to Rṣi Gautama, it is reasonable to infer that the shrine of the same name situated at Vaiśālī was also named after that Vedic Rṣi It is also interesting to note that a sect called Gotama-Goyama is mentioned both in the *Anuyogadvāra*[20] a Jain canonical text, and the *Anguttara*[21] a Pāli work According to Hemacandra[22], the commentator of *Anuyogodvāra,* the mendicants belonging to that school, earned their livelihood by exhibiting young bulls, painted and decorated as well as by performing tricks The

worship of ancient Ṛṣis was not an uncommon thing in ancient India. We have the well known instance of Agastya worship A shrine called Kāmamahāvana is mentioned in several Jain texts including the *Antagaḍadasāo*[23] and *Bhagavatī*[24] as situated at Vārānasi. It can, by no stretch of imagination, be called a Yakṣa shrine It was serely dedicated to the Hindu god of love Kāmadeva, who was one of the most popular gods of ancient India and whose festivals were regularly held in almost all important cities of India during spring time The Angamandira[25] shrine of Campā, connected with the activities of the Ājīvika philosopher Makkhaliputta Gośāla was also probably a Brāhmanical temple The is only *'ceiya'* of the Jain literature whose name has the significant ending *mandira* meaning probably a *devakula* We snould further note that the deities and even noble persons were often called 'Yaksas' in ancient India In the *Majjhima Nikāya*[26] and the *Petavatthu*[27] Indra is called a 'Yakṣa' The famous city of gods Alakanandā is mentioned in the *Dīgha*[28] as the city of Yaksas Even Buddha is called a 'Yakṣa' in the *Majjhima Nikāya*[29] The highly interesting Buddhist Sanskrit tert the *Mahāmāyūrī*, recently edited and translated by D C Sircar,[30] has a comprehensive list of the so-called Yakṣa shrines in which almost all the well known Hindu gods are called 'Yakṣas' As for example, Viṣṇu of Dvārakā in verse No 19, Śiva of Śivapura in verse 47 and Kārttikeya of Rohītaka in No 35 We have already noted that the epics, the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* have nothing but deference for the Yakṣas, who were superior in character and demeanour, to the Rākṣasas and Piśācas Even a person like Yudhiṣṭhira is delineated in the *Mahābhārata*[31] as worshipping Yakṣa Manibhadra whose shrine according to the Jain texts,[32] was situated both at Mithilā and Vardhamānapura of Bengal This particular Yakṣa is mentioned elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata* as the presiding deity of travellers and traders[33] and a Buddhist canonical text[34] alludes to a shrine of the same Yakṣa at Gayā Another Buddhist text[35] refers to the sects who apparently worshipped Manibhadra and Pūrnabhadra both of whom are honourably mentioned in the Jain texts

The list given above regarding some of the Yakṣa-ceiyas

shows that most of these shrines were situated in eastern India There is no doubt that Yakṣa-worship was basically anti-Vedic in character And only when the fusion of Aryans with non-Aryans was complete, that they were looked upon with veneration It is also a fact that a few members of the Brāhmanical pantheon like Śiva, Ganapati, Skanda and Durgā were originally local deities, worshipped by non-Aryans, or to put it more correctly, un-Aryans Both Jainism and Buddhism, which were basically anti-Vedic, naturally befriended popular and indigenous religious systems, which had a greater appeal for the masses Pārśva, who may be called the real founder of Jainism, probably used to visit the well-known Yaksa shrines of Vārānasī His visit to the famous Pūrnabhadra shrine of Campā is recorded in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*,[86] the 6th Anga text Regarding his illustrious successor the lord Mahāvira, we can say with certainty that the Yaksa shrines of eastern India were his most favourite resorts In this connexion the following words of the Master found in the *Bhagavatī* may be reproduced here "I pass my nights in *devakulas, sabhās, pavās, ārāmas* and *ujjānas*" Most of the *ceiyas* of the Jain texts were situated in *ujjānas* meaning gardens, He also used to visit frequently shrines like Gunaśila of Rājagrha Pūrnabhadra of Campā, Koṣṭhaka of Srāvastī etc Quite a good number of his lectures were delivered according to the *Bhagavatī*, in the Gunaśila shrine of Rājagrha A very vivid and useful description of the famous Yakṣa shrine of Pūrnabhadra, situated to the north-east direction of Campā is given in the well-known Upānga text the *Aupapātika*[87] The description there leaves no room to doubt that this particular shrine was one of the most prominent cultural and religious centres of that celebrated city, represented as the metropolis of Kūnika-Ajātaśatru, the son of Srenika-Bimbisāra

Although the *Bhagavatī* refers to Mahāvīra's visit to *devakulas*, very few *devakulas* are actually mentioned either in the Jain or Buddhist canonical texts We have already referred to the temple of the god of Love situated at Vārānasī There is little doubt that all the three teachers Pārśva, Mahāvīra and Buddha scrupulously and carefully avoided temples dedicated to Brāhmanical gods But the *ceiya-ceiyas*, dedicated to Yakṣas,

were favoured by them In this connexion we can recall the following words spoken by Buddha to his followers in the *Anguttara Nikāya*,[38] "Vajjian shrines should be revered" By Vajjian he means the famous shrines of Vaiśālī and possibly also of Bhoganagara which was also situated in the Vajji country So it seems that both Mahāvīra and Buddha had some genuine deference for Yakṣa shrines, particularly of eastern India Unlike Buddha, who spent the major part of his ascetic life in the luxurious Jetavana-vihāra of Śrāvastī and the Squirrels' feeding place of Rājagṛha, Mahāvīra, who wandered about absolutely naked, spent the major portion of his life in deserted caves and dilapidated shrines Here we would like to draw the attention of readers to the fact that Mahāvīra became a Kevalin near a dilapidated shrine (*ceiya*) [39]

It is clear from the *Vipākaśruta*[40] and *Aupapātika*[41] that Yaksas were worshipped like gods, with leaves, flowers incense and sandal etc Just like gods they were worshipped for progeny, success etc [42] These shrines invariably had an image[43] of the Yaksa to whom it was dedicated There is also reason to believe the image worship was originally a non-Aryan custom and it probably started with the worship of Yaksa images Image worship was also an integral part of Jain religion from the earliest times Even in the most ancient texts of the Jains we have references to images and shrines dedicated to various Tīrthankaras If the evidence of the Hāthigumphā inscription is to be believed, a Nanda king of the 4th century B C, took away a Jina image from Kalinga [44] It is also possible that early Jain sculptors got inspiration from the Yakṣa images installed in various shrines Even there is reason to believe that the association of every Tīrthankara with a particular tree was due to the influence of Yakṣa worship which was often connected with *rukṣa* or tree worship We should remember that the original Sanskrit word *caitya* also meant a sacred tree [45] Further the commentary of the *Dhammapada* describes the Udena and Gotamaka shrines as *rukkhacetiyas* This is not surprising since most of the Yakṣa shrines, according to the Jain canonical texts, were situated in the midst of big gardens (*ujjāna*)[46]

The intimate connexion of both Jainism and Buddhism with

Yakṣa worship is also proved by the fact that Vaiśravaṇa Kubera, the lord of Yakṣas, is probably the most prominent of the Hindu gods to be worshipped by the Jains and Buddhists alike This is proved by the references to him in their canonical texts. He was popular even outside India[47] As Jainism found favour with the traders from quite early times, it is natural that god of wealth Kubera, who was the supreme lord of the Yakṣas, should be popular among the devotees of Pārsva and Mahāvīra

It is clear from the above discussion that early Jainism had close and intimate connexion with Yakṣa worship and gradually incorporated and absorbed some of its salient features The Jains, it should be noted, had a very favourable attitude towards the so-called malignant spirits This is proved by Vimala's treatment af some Rākṣasa characters of the *Rāmāvana* in his celebrated *Paumacariyam* Characters like Rāvana, Kumbhakarna and others are represented in this poem as vegetarian Vidyādharas, believing firmly in non-violence Vimalasūri, who flourished in the 1st century (530 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra) A D, even takes the author of the *Rāmāyana* to task, for delineating the Rākṣasas as cruel beings[48] As firm believers in non-violence, the early Jain writers refused to believe that even supernatural beings or spirits could indulge in violence It is, therefore, entirely natural that Yaksas should get an honourable place in the early Jain canonical literature

NOTES

1 XIII 4 3 10

2 VIII 10 28

3 *Mānava GS* 11 14, *Śān GS*, 1 1 7 *Hiranva GS* II 1 3 7, see also *SBE* Vol 29, p 219

4 II 203, 272

5 Chs 14 f

6 VII 15 15, 29

7 III Chs 312 ff

8 3 11 ff

9 Para 617

10 Vol II, p 149

11 *Suttavibhanga,* Vol I, p 246, Vol 2, pp 71, 194, 223, *Anguttara,* Vol IV, p 147, *Samyutta,* 1, pp 234, 275, etc

12 *Mahāvagga,* p 45

13 *Anguttara,* Vol II, p 174

14 *Mahāparinibbāna* of the *Dīgha*

15 *Udāna,* p 6

16 Para. 406

17 Para 273

18 Para. 153

19 21 5-8

20 Para 20

21 Vol III, p 200

22 *Anuyogadvāra-vṛtti,* p 25

23 Para 15

24 Para 550, see also *Nāyā,* 151

25 *Bhag,* 550

26 I, p 252

27 II, 9 65 f

28 II p 170

29 I, p 386

30 JAIH, Vol V, pp 262-328

31 VIV 65 7

32 *Jambudvīpaprajñapti,* 1 178, *Sūryaprajñapti,* 1-2, set also *Bhag,* 362

33 III 64 13, III, 65 22

34 *Samyutta,* I, p 266

35 *Mahāniddesa,* pp 89, 92, set also *Milindapañha,* p 191

36 Para 152

37 Para 2

38 Vol IV, p 10

39 See *Kalpasūtra,* 120 (*SBE* Vol XXII, p 263), set also *Ācārānga,* 11 15 25

40 See *Vipāka* (Kota, 1935), p 248

41 Para 2

42 *Vipāka,* p 244

43 Set *Ant*, p 86 (ed L D Barnett), *Vipāka*, p 86

44 See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* etc, p 217

45 Cf *Mahābhārata*, I 150 33-
eko vṛkṣo hi yo grāme bhavet parnaphalānvitah
caityo bhavati nirjñātirarcanīyah supūjitah

46 See especially *Aupapātika* (3) which describes a big garden just outside the Pūrnabhadra *caitya* of Campā

47 See *Yuan Chwang* (Watters), Vol I, p 108, See also *Mahāvamśa* X 89

48 See the paper on *Vimalasūri's Paumachriyam* included in the present author's work entitled *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition*, pp 177-195

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[For detailed information regarding the sources used in this work, consult the NOTES at the end of each Chapter]

Chapter I

1 Kalpasūtra, ed H Jacobi, Leipzig, 1879, translation by the same scholar *S B E*, Vol 22

2 Samavāyānga, edited along with the *vṛtti* by Abhayadeva, Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1918

3 Sthānānga, Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1918-20

4 Nāyādhammakahāo, Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1919

5 Bhāgavata Purāna, Gītā Press edition, Gorakhpur

6 M L Mehta and K R Chandra, Prakrit Proper Names, 2 Parts, Ahmedabad, 1970-72

Chapter II

In addition to the texts mentioned for Chapter I consult the following—

1 Bhagavatī, Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1918-21

2 Cambridge History of India, Vol I (Cambridge, Reprint, 1935), Chapter VI

3 M Bloomfield, The Life and Stories of the Jain Savior Pārśvanātha, Baltimore, 1919

Chapter III

In addition to the works recommended for the first two chapters, consult the following—

1 Suttāgame (collection of eleven Anga texts), ed by Puppha bhikkhu, Gurgaon Cantt

2 Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names in two Volumes by Malalasekera

3 J C Jain, Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canons, Bombay, 1947

Chapter IV

In addition to the sources indicated in the *NOTES* of this chapter, no additional work is recommended here

Chapter V

In addition to the sources indicated in the *NOTES*, consult the following—

1 Guerinot, A Répertoire d' Epigraphie Jain, Paris, 1908

2 C L Jain, Jaina Bibliography Calcutta, 1945 Some recent Jain inscriptions, discovered from Mathurā have been edited in *J U P H S* and *Epigraphia Indica* they have also been noticed in *Jaina Śilālekha Sangraha*

Chapter VI

No additional work is recommended here

Chapter VII

In addition to the *NOTES* consult the following—

1 G C Choudhary, Political History of Northern India from Jain Sources, Amritsar, 1963

2 Shah, C J, Jainism in North India, Bombay, 1932

Chapter VIII

For detailed study consult the following modern works—

1 R Ayyangar and B Seshagiri, Studies in South Indian Jainism, Madras, 1922

2 B A Saletore, Mediaeval Jainism, Bombay, 1938

3 P B Desai, Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs, Sholapur, 1957

Chapter IX

No additional text is recommended

Chapter X

No additional text is recommended

Chapter XI

The *NOTES* will be found sufficiently useful, for detailed Bibliography on the Śvetāmbara canonical texts consult the following works—

1 H D Velankar, Jinaratnakośa, Poona, 1944

2 W Schubring, The Doctrine of the Jains (translation of the original German work of the author), Delhi, 1962

3 Doshi, Jain, Mehta and others, Jaina Sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa (first three volumes), Varanasi, 1966-67

4 J C Jain, Prakrit Sāhitya kā itihāsa, Varanasi, 1961

Chapter XII

The *NOTES* will be found sufficiently informative

Chapters XIII and XIV

In addition to the sources indicated in the *NOTES* consult Velankar's *Jinaratnakośa* in which all published Jain works of literature are included

Appendix A

1 B M, Barua, The Ājīvikas, *J D L*, Vol 2, pp 1-80, see also his paper in *A B O R I*, Vol 8, the chapter on Gośāla in his classic work 'A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy' Calcutta, 1921, is also quite thought-provoking

2 A L Basham, History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas, London, 1951

3 Two other relevant papers are by D R Bhandarkar (*I A*, Vol 41, pp 286-90) and A S Gopani (Bhāratīya Vidyā Vol 2, pp 201-10, Vol 3, pp 47-59)

Appendix B

1 J Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, London, 1873

INDEX

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

P 8 We cannot entirely rule out the possibility of the identification of Ariṣṭanemi with Aranemi mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (see Nālandā edition of that text Vol III, 83, 84, 256) where he is distinctly called *titthakara*

P 13 and elsewhere read '*Ācārānga*' for '*Ācāranga*'

P 25 (line 4) and elsewhere read 'Sāketa' for 'Śāketa'

P 44 (line 16)—read 'Magadha' for 'Maghadha'

P 69 (No 26)—read Gahapravika for Gahaprakiva

P 80 (line 10)—read 'Arhats' for 'Arahats'

P 84 (line 27)—read 'Pusyamitra' for 'Pusyamitra'

P 85 (line 25)—add 'of' after 'character'

P 88 (line 8)—read 'Udayagiri' for 'Udagiri'

P 90 A recently discovered bowl from Rajasthan (Bharatpur district) contains the word *negata* in early Brāhmī which may stand for *nigatha* (Jain), see *Indian Archaeology*, 1965-66, p 67

P 96 Second para (last line)—read 'any' for 'and'

P 111 (Second para, line 5)—see in this connexion *A S W I*, Vol 3, p 11, and *A B O R I*, Vol 16, p 7

P 112 Add a new footnote 11A with the following observation—From Kauśāmbī an icon of Padmaprabha, belonging to the early Gupta period, has been recently unearthed, see *Indian Archaeology*, 1953-54, p 9 This surely proves the association of that Tīrthankara with this ancient city

P 116 Footnote 122 (line 7) read 'Jinaprabha' for 'Jinabhadra'

P 123 Second para (line 25) add 'also' after 'was'

P 129 First para (line 2) read 'Seṭṭipodavu' for 'Seṭṭipodanu'

P 141 Second para (line 7) read 'property for 'propery
Same page (Third para)—see in this connexion N Premi, *Jaina sāhitya aur itihāsa*, pp 559 ff

P 143 Second line read *'ūrjas'* for *'orjas'*
Same page, Third para (line 4) read 'different' for "dicerent'

P 144 Second line—delete 'The' before Harivarman
Same page, Second para (first line) read 'Kadamba' for 'kadamba'

P 157 Third para (first line) read 'Citrakūta' for 'Citraflūta'

P 167 Second para (line 4) read 'Vetravatī' for 'Vetravatī'

P 180 Third para (line 7) add 'of' after 'year'

P 192 Second para (last line) read 'These' for 'There

P 222 Footnote 92 (line 3) read 'Kopanādri' for 'Kapanādri'
Same page, same footnote (line 4) read *'Cāmundarāya'* for *'Cāmundrāya'*

P 228 Fourth para (line 6) read *'Niśītha'* for 'Nisītha'

P 239 First para (last line) read 'Ambada' for 'Ambada'

P 251 Second para (line 2) read *'Puspikā'* for *'Puspita'*

P 253 Second para (line 12) read 'Śayyambhava' for 'Sayyambhava'

P 255 Third para (line 4) read 'Jinadāsagani' for *'Jinadāsagani'*

P 256 Second para (line 9) read 'it' for 'if'
Same page, same para (line 15) read *'suvarna'* for *suvana'*

P 273 Second para (line 5) read Guṇāḍhya' for 'Gunāḍhya'

P 282 Second para (line 11) add 'that' after 'regret'

P 284 Last line, read 'Caupannamahāpurisacariyam'

P 288 Third para (line 12) read '*ghrāna*' for '*ghṛāṇa*'

P 308 Second para (line 5) read 'Deulavaḍaya' for Deulya-vaḍaya'

P 336 Footnote 86 (line 1) read 'was' for 'is'